

JPRS-UAA-87-001

16 JUNE 1987



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

---

# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

---

***PEOPLES OF ASIA  
& AFRICA***

No 1, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1987

16 JUNE 1987

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

SOVIET UNION  
PEOPLES OF ASIA & AFRICA  
No 1, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1987

[Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NORODY AZII I AFRIKI, published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.]

CONTENTS

English Summary of Major Articles (pp 219-221) .....	1
Author Information (p 218) .....	6
 ARTICLES	
Disarmament Seen as Solution to African Development Problems (pp 3-13) (An.A. Gromyko) .....	8
The Countries of Southeast Asia and the Far East in the Imperialist System of Capital Export (pp 14-24) (S.A. Bylinyak, G.I. Chufrin) (not translated)	
The Influence of Scientific and Technical Revolution on Personal Consumption in Japan (pp 25-34) (V.B. Ramzes) (not translated)	
Egypt Assailed for Promoting "Bourgeois Nationalist" Ideology (pp 35-44) (A.M. Vasilyev) .....	17

'Islamization' of Pakistan under Zia Regime Criticized (pp 45-54)  
(O.V. Pleshov) ..... 26

Income of the Caliphate from Savad in the 7th-Beginning of the 10th  
Centuries (pp 55-65) ;  
(F.M. Asadov (Baku)) (not translated)

#### Methodological Questions

Problems of the Transitional Period in the Development of National  
Literatures (Ethiopian Example) (pp 66-74)  
(M.L. Volpe) (not translated)

#### From the History of Oriental and African Studies

Walter Rodney (pp 75-81)  
(K. Mosonik arap Korir) (not translated)

#### REPORTS

Influx of Foreign Financial Resources and the Formations of the  
Economic Policy of Nigeria (pp 82-89)  
(B.N. Dobrovskiy) (not translated)

Foreign Workers in Libya (pp 90-96)  
(S.I. Andreyev) (not translated)

Russian-Moroccan Ties in the 19th Century (pp 97-103)  
(T.L. Musatova) (not translated)

Identification of the Unidentified Manuscripts of the Persian Farhang  
in the 'Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts' in the Collection  
of the Royal Library in Berlin (pp 104-105)  
(S.I. Bayevskiy (Leningrad)) (not translated)

#### FEATURES

The 'Okage Mairi' (1930) and 'Edzya Nay-Ka!' (1867) Popular Movements  
in Japan. (pp 106-118)  
(Translation from Old Japanese, Introduction and Commentary  
by Yu.M. Ryu) (not translated)

#### SCIENTIFIC LIFE

New Books from 'Nauka' Oriental Literature Section Previewed  
(pp 119-121) (O.K. Dreyer) ..... 35

Second Soviet-African Conference on Peace, Cooperation (pp 122-131) (Yu.M. Ilin) .....	39
Scientific Centers of Senegal (pp 132-137) (O.V. Vlasov) (not translated)	
News Notes (pp 138-148)	
Yearly Collection of Articles to be Published in English (pp 148-149) .....	52
Defense of Dissertations (First Half of 1986) (pp 149-153) (not translated)	
CRITICISM AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Discussion	
The Evolution of Oriental Societies: Synthesis of the Traditional and the Contemporary. Participants: V.I. Sheynis, Ye.S. Popov, A.I. Fursov, V.V. Makarenko, V.B. Menshikov, O.Ye. Nepomnin, M.A. Barg (pp 154-186) .....	54
Surveys	
New Research on Masai Society in Foreign Literature (pp 187-192) (K.P. Kalinovskaya) (not translated)	
Reviews	
G.S. Kiselev Review of I.L. Andreyev's 'A Manuscript Page from the History of Marxism. (Problems of the Commune and Family in the Manuscripts of K. Marx. 1870s-1880s)' (pp 193-197) (not translated)	
I.A. Latyshev Review of G.Ye. Svetlov's 'Path of the Gods. (Shinto in the History of Japan)' (pp 197-200) .....	55
E.S. Lvova Review of N.B. Kochakova's 'The Birth of African Civilization (Ife, Oyo, Benin, Dagomey)' (pp 200-203) (not translated)	
S.N. Gorenko, B.T. Koloskov Review of R.K. Jain's 'China and Thailand. 1949-1983' (pp 204-210) (not translated)	
B.V. Sokolov Review of M. Lipton's 'Capitalism and Apartheid. South Africa, 1910-1984' (pp 211-214) (not translated)	



Book Notes

A.P. Kireyev Review of N.A. Gnevushev's "The Arms Race and Problems  
of Development of Liberated Countries" (pp 215-217) ..... 58

12821

CSO: 1807/227

## ENGLISH SUMMARY OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 219-221

[Text] AFRICA: DISARMAMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT

An.A. Gromyko

The article deals with complex problems of African development. It emphasizes that the arms race unleashed by imperialism, primarily by the ruling circles and military and industrial complex of the USA, and the escalation of the international tension are a hurdle to the resolvment of vital problems facing African nations. The imperialists are resorting to a variety of measures, in their struggle against those African states which seek to pursue an independent foreign policy. These include economic blackmail, subversion, encouragement of separatist movements, arming of counter-revolutionary bands, state terrorism. The imperialists are trying to make African states join their military alliances and blocs, impede their free usage of national resources, make them a party to the arms race, force them to expand their military budgets and run their economy along the military lines.

The article notes that the genuine interests of African peoples demand termination of the arms race, easing of the international tension, disarmament and equal, mutually beneficial relations with all nations.

## COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND FAR EAST IN THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM OF CAPITAL EXPORT

S.A. Bylinyak, G.I. Chufrin

The foreign investment distribution so far as individual developing countries or regions are concerned is most uneven. The Southeast Asia and the Far East represent regions of extensive Western investment both in terms of entrepreneurship and loans. The article maintains that the high rates of economic growth of these regions up to the 1980s, the export-oriented development, availability of the world's largest financial centers in Singapore and Hong Kong and favourable investment legislation account for this.

The data presented in the article is evidence to the fact that foreign capital has a profound effect, more often than not an adverse one, upon the economy of the region. In conditions of the growing crisis in the world capitalist economy in the 1980s the implications of a large-scale inflow of capital in the region became patently clear. The drawing of the countries under review on the private loan capital, which grants credit at high, and apart from this an unstable interest rates, exacerbates the problem of external indebtedness, increases the outflow of capital to the centres of world capitalism. The trend to lay more accent on the use of foreign capital in entrepreneurship, which became pronounced on the 1980s, to neutralise the crisis phenomena gave rise to the introduction of restrictive measures as regards the activity of foreign investors. The escalation of the foreign capital inflow into the most advanced industries produced new forms of neo-colonial dependence of "technological" nature.

The article reaches the conclusion that the dragging of states and territories of the regions under discussion into the imperialist system of capital export heightens the threat of distorting the occurring therein social and economic processes.

#### IMPACT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION ON PERSONAL CONSUMPTION IN JAPAN

V.B. Ramzes

The article examines the relation between the scientific and technological progress and personal consumption and its feedback in the period following the Second World War. It emphasizes the role played by the scientific and technological progress in setting up an advanced industry of consumer goods and services with a high level of industrial specialisation and attuned to the internal and external markets.

The article ascertains the dependence between the elimination of deficit of the above-mentioned goods and services on the basis of the advance in science and technology and the stimuli used to encourage the human factor to raise the productivity of labor. It also discusses the contribution of the scientific and technological progress to the modification of the structure of consumer demand. The latter finds its expression in the growing proportion of selective elements, services and modern elements to the detriment of basic elements, material goods and traditional elements respectively.

The article highlights the role of the scientific and technological progress in transforming the psychological image of the Japanese consumer and in changing the social evaluation of production and personal consumption in favour of the latter.

Coming out with the conception of "over-maturity of personal consumption" as a factor accounting for the sluggish consumer demand in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the article investigates into the current situation and prospects for informatization, which, in the view of the author, is capable of galvanizing the market activity of consumers. At the same time, the focus of attention

here is the process of computerization of the household, which is regarded as shoots of a new material civilisation.

The article also touches upon problems facing the personal consumption due to the growing dependence of the latter on scientific and technological progress (gaps in the level of "computer literacy" of the population, erosion of accumulated cultural heritage, undermining of consumers' sovereignty, etc.).

#### EGYPTIAN NATIONALISM AND PAN-ARABISM (HISTORICAL ROOTS OF A DISCUSSION)

A.M. Vasilyev

Are the Egyptians a separate nation or do they belong to the "all-Arab nation"? Does Egypt have a specific civilisation of its own dating back to the epoch of the Pharaohs, or is it an integral part of the Arab, or broadly speaking, Arab Moslem civilisation? These questions which were the focal point of the discussion about the "personality of Egypt" in the Egyptian press of the late 1970s, had profound social and political implications.

The slogans of nationalism, whether of Egyptian, or all-Arab extraction, are used by various social movements to find an appropriate tool for their political struggle. The scope of this struggle includes both the internal social and economic development and foreign policy.

Abandoning the Nasser's legacy, the ideology included, the Sadat regime also gave up Pan-Arabism. An attempt to revitalise the parochial nationalism, as a counterweight to the all-Arab one, was natural to the official ideology of the Sadat regime. Hence, the discussion of the 1970s factually dealt with the ideological substantiation, or rejection of the policy pursued by Sadat. The social and class content of nationalism came to the fore. The peculiarity of the situation in Egypt lied in the fact that the adherents both of the Pan-Arabism and Egyptian nationalism included left-wing and right-wing elements, those standing for progressive social, economic and political transformations and retrogrades. The other specific feature of the Egyptian situation was that the new pro-Western bourgeoisie not only manipulated the slogans and had no ideological principles, but went in for mimicry to achieve their ends in propaganda. The preference given by them to the Egyptian nationalism was a policy of convenience but not a stand taken out of principle. As compared to this, the correctly understood national interests of Egypt, whether in terms of all-Arab, or Egyptian nationalism, imply an anti-imperialist policy and a cooperation with other Arab countries on this basis.

#### "ISLAMISATION" IN PAKISTAN: MOTIVES AND MEANS OF IMPLEMENTATION

O.V. Pleshov

The article deals with a relatively new phenomenon in the development of Pakistan. It examines Islamisation used as a tool to achieve political ends. Attempts to use Islam and various ideas related to the concept of an Islamic state as a political instrument had been made previously. However, it has not become a consistent policy until after Ziaul Haq came to power. It was the



first time in the 39 years of Pakistan's history that Islamisation resulted in a structural transformation.

The military regimes preceding Ziaul Haq relied mainly upon the state apparatus, a socially and politically powerful stratum of bureaucracy. Z.A. Bhutto had purged the bureaucracy, so that when the military came to power the bureaucracy but slightly resembled its old powerful self. Therefore, unlike his predecessors, Ziaul Haq had trust in Islam and its political organizations. This brought about a military and Islamic state structure, in which the Army plays the first fiddle.

The partnership of the military and the clergy in implementing the policy of the centre, unequal as it is, is not the only function of Islam in the new structure of the state. A major role is ascribed to Islamic organizations in provinces which are to restrain the political and religious opposition. Apart from this, they are to combat the manifestations of nationalism, an ever enhancing factor putting at risk the very existence of Pakistan as an independent state.

In its certain aspects the policy of Islamisation acquires a patently aggressive tinge. The case in point is the foreign policy of Islamabad, notably the policy towards Afghanistan and India.

In the final analysis Islamisation appears to be an attempt of the predominant social forces in Pakistan to preserve the status quo in social, political and economic fields.

#### INCOME OF CALIPHATE FROM SAVAD IN THE SEVENTH TO THE TENTH CENTURY

F.M. Asadov

The article investigates into the incomes from Savad, a central region of the Abbasid Caliphate. Western scholars maintain that the agriculture in Savad suffered a drastic decline after the advent of the Arabs and brought about a steady decrease of government incomes. This suggestion based on the reference of written sources is taken for granted. However, a comprehensive analysis of the Arab sources allows for a conclusion that from the seventh to the early tenth century there was no decline either in agriculture, or in government incomes. A fall in the revenue, was due to the growing enfeoffment of private estates beginning from the middle of the ninth century.

#### PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD OF NATIONAL LITERATURES (WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ETHIOPIA)

M.P. Volpe

The article analyses the Amharic fiction proceeding from the assumption that the process of its transition from medieval to modern pattern is not yet over. This literature is changing due to inner necessity brought about by new ideological and aesthetic requirements of the society. The beginning of the transition period dates from the end of the nineteenth century, when

practically a new literary tradition started to emerge on the basis of the former Geez writing.

During past several decades the Amharic language was adapted for literary use, the system of genres modernised, the ideology of books became mostly secular, whereas previously it used to be religious. Changes in social functions of literature also take place. Recent publications of Ethiopian writers are reviewed from this point of view. The shape and content of present-day Ethiopian fiction may be indicative as to possible ways of other African literatures' evolution. In this regard one can draw a parallel with the development of modern Hausa and Swahili literatures, which face more or less the same problems on their way to maturity.

#### POPULAR MOVEMENTS "OKAGE MAYRY" (1830) AND "EZYA NAYKA" (1867) IN JAPAN

The popular movements of the medieval Japan occurred in the guise of a carnival-like festival. They were distinguished by certain features springing from the primeval early festivals which knew many peoples of the world. There were orgiastic violations of rules and taboos and a temporary abandoning of various stereotypes. The aspirations for happiness and hope for a better future, which, as a rule, never led to any kind of an active social protest, took a peculiar form associated with religion and worship.

These movements raise a number of issues, such as their relation to more active forms of social protest (e.g. peasant and urban mutinies), evaluation of social and political implications of the movement "Ezya nayka" at the turning point of the Japanese history, i.e. on the eve of the fall of the feudal domination.

The data related to these popular movements prompts one to suggest that examining similar phenomena it is essential to combine a historical and sociological analysis with a wide-ranging ethnographic and cultural contemplation.

The fragments dealing with the pilgrimage of 1830 are extractions from the most thorough description of this pilgrimage entitled "Ukyo no ariyasama, day nykan." The excerpts related to the "Ezya nayka" are taken from the manuscript "Keyo Ise okage kenbun syokoku fusygy no hykae." They are written in the archaic old Japanese (bungo) and have never been translated into foreign languages. The texts we are using have been published and commented by Yasumaru Yosyo. (The series Nyhon syso Taykey, vol 58. Mynsyu undo no syso. Tokyo, 1970).

Translation from the Old Japanese, Introduction and Commentary by Yu.M. Ryu.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

CSO: 1812/134



#### AUTHOR INFORMATION

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 p 218

[Text] Anatoliy Andreyevich Gromyko, doctor of historical sciences, professor, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on African Problems, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute.

Stanislav Arkadyevich Bylinyak, doctor of economic sciences, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Gennadiy Illarionovich Chufrin, doctor of economic sciences, department chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Vadim Borisovich Ramzes, doctor of economic sciences, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute.

Alexey Mikhaylovich Vasilyev, doctor of historical sciences, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute.

Oleg Vasilyevich Pleshov, candidate of historical sciences, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Mikhail Lvovich Volpe, candidate of philological sciences.

K. Mamonik arap Korir, graduate student of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Farda Magerram ogly Asadov, associate of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Boris Naumovich Dobrovskiy, candidate of economic sciences, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute.

Tatyana Leonidovna Musatova, candidate of historical sciences, associate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Solomon Isaakovich Bayevskiy, candidate of philological sciences, associate of the Leningrad Branch of USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Yuriy Mikhaylovich Ryu, candidate of historical sciences, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

Klara Petrovna Kalinovskaya, candidate of historical sciences, associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821

CSO: 1807/227

## DISARMAMENT SEEN AS SOLUTION TO AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 3-13

[Article by An. A. Gromyko: "Africa: Disarmament for Development"]

[Excerpts] "The modern world is complex, multifaceted, dynamic, permeated with opposing trends and filled with contradictions," notes the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee, given by Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev at the 27th Party Congress. "This is a world of the most complex alternatives, hopes and fears."<sup>1</sup> Deep and far-reaching changes have occurred and are continuing to occur in modern world development that are in need of comprehensive scholarly analysis. This relates fully to the African continent as well, where exceedingly complex and contradictory processes are transpiring. African countries have accumulated rich, and in many cases original, experience in the struggle for freedom and political and economic independence, and they have demonstrated that they now possess great creative potential and are striving toward peace, knowledge and social justice. Modern Africa has many faces. Each of the countries of the continent has a specific nature characteristic only of it--this includes the political and social structure, traditions and the way of life, religious beliefs and spiritual culture. Naturally, all of these specific features are very much in motion and are in the process of development. The new battles the old, which is extremely reluctant to concede. In the majority of countries, however, progressive tendencies are seizing the upper hand, and definite successes and achievements are apparent which undoubtedly could be more appreciated if there were no economic and financial pressure and force, and even direct acts of aggression, against independent Africa on the part of the imperialists and the racists along with most acute internal problems, associated first and foremost with the necessity of surmounting profound economic backwardness. The experience of the peoples of Africa visibly testifies to the fact that the resurrected feeling of national dignity is becoming a serious creative force, that the originality of the people and its contacts with other fully endowed and free peoples are playing a creative role. In light of this, it is becoming fully understandable that the overall correlation of forces in the international arena and the prospects for world development depend largely on how the further development of the countries of Africa transpires and how the relations between the states on the continent take shape.

The liberated countries in general and the African countries in particular are confronted by a powerful and dangerous adversary--imperialism, neocolonialism and neoglobalism, most often armed with state terrorism. As soon as the imperialists note that this or that independent country is beginning to play an appreciable role in international affairs, that a threat to imperialist exploitation is arising, they employ a rich arsenal of fear and pressure--economic blackmail, the undermining of economic stability, the encouragement of separatist movements, the arming of counterrevolutionary bands--and finally bring into action the mechanism of imperialist intervention and dictate. Using a diversity of controls and means, the imperialists are trying to drag the countries of Africa into various alliances and blocs they are creating, not allowing these countries to maneuver their own resources freely, making them participants in the arms race, forcing them to puff up their military budgets and enter onto the path of militarization of the economy. To this are added most serious internal problems whose resolution is associated with enormous difficulties not easily surmounted. "The dignity of peoples, insulted by colonialism, the legacy of poverty, illiteracy, backwardness and deep prejudice, preserve the soil for mistrust and hostility among peoples, including those living within the boundaries of a single state," emphasized M.S. Gorbachev. "Imperialism profiteers in difficulties and remnants, and as a result local conflicts and ethnic and religious strife are inflamed and political instability arises."<sup>2</sup>

All of this in the aggregate cannot help but cause a definite deformation of the processes of internal development and complicate the normalization of relations between both countries and peoples. The imperialists, and first and foremost the aggressive forces in the United States, do not want to deal with the political realities that have taken shape in the world today. They frequently try to ignore the will of independent sovereign states and deprive their peoples of the right to choose the path of social development. It is in these policies that the main reason for the appearance of conflicts in the most varied regions of the world, including Africa, is concealed.

Overcoming backwardness is made more difficult for many independent African states today not only by the legacy of the colonial past, but the actions of imperialism as well. The liberated countries are continuing to be subjected to exploitation, and a multibillion-dollar neocolonial tribute, draining their economies, is exacted from them. Many African states owe gigantic sums of money to capitalist states. Indebtedness has become one of the channels for their exploitation, which naturally provokes dissatisfaction and resistance among Africans. This is fully understandable, since today economic opportunity and the capabilities of science and technology make it possible to provide material conditions for all African peoples that would allow them to work on the peaceful building of society where the all-round development of the personality would be possible. Imperialism, however, impedes this, making use of economic and technological dependence and the unequal situation of the liberated countries in the world capitalist economy in its own interests.

It is also necessary to recall in this regard that prospects have been revealed on the African continent today for a non-capitalist path of development, the path of socialist orientation and the building of the foundations of socialism. The possibility is thus at hand for the building of



a society on the African continent that would act in the interests of all the workers. This phenomenon has enormous historical significance. It is also just that, defending their independence from the intrigues of the neoglobalists, neocolonialists and racists, many African countries are expanding their collaboration with the socialist states and are combining efforts with them for the resolution of the urgent problems that mankind has encountered today.

As the meeting in Reykjavik between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan demonstrated, the possibilities for this are evident. They have not yet been utilized, however, since the government of the United States, reflecting the interests of the military-industrial complex, intends to implement the "star wars" plans. It rejects the sensible Soviet compromise proposals that would rid the world of the arms race and sharply diminish the military threat.

As M.S. Gorbachev noted in the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress, "the course of history and social progress more and more persistently requires the arrangement of constructive and creative interaction among states and peoples on the scale of the whole planet. Not only requires, but is creating, the essential preconditions--political, social and material--for this."<sup>3</sup> It is essential to lead international collaboration into broad expanses, which would permit the creation of a system of international economic security that would defend every state equally from discriminations, sanctions and other attributes of imperialist neocolonial policy. "Such a system could become a reliable institution for international security and overall disarmament."<sup>4</sup> In the economic sphere, the basic principles of a system of international security, as formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress, envisage: the elimination of all forms of international discrimination in world practices; the rejection of policies of blockades and sanctions, if they are not directly envisaged by the recommendations of the world community; a joint search for a just settlement of the problem of indebtedness; the establishment of a new world economic order that guarantees equal economic security for all states; the development of principles for the utilization of a portion of the funds that will be freed up as a result of the reduction of military budgets for the good of the world community, and first and foremost the developing countries; a combination of efforts in research and the peaceful use of space; and, the resolution of global problems on which the fate of civilization depends.

The most important global problem is to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear war. This would guarantee the survival of mankind and, consequently, the solution of other global problems.

New political thinking reflecting the realities of the 20th century should be universally affirmed in international relations in the nuclear and space era. It opens the way for multilateral agreements that take into account the security interests of all peoples. It is precisely this goal that is pursued by the broad-scale initiatives advanced in the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Declaration of M.S. Gorbachev of 15 Jan 86 and his declaration on Soviet television of 18 Aug 86. The Soviet program of full elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of the 20th century is supported by all sensible politicians and advocates of peace on earth, and it has struck a chord in the African countries as well.

Another danger of the arms race for the peoples of the developing countries is that it entails a further increase in their economic backwardness and even poverty, aside from the military threat, nuclear danger and the catastrophic consequences of "nuclear winter." Disarmament for development along with no concessions whatsoever to neocolonialism and multinational corporations is the true path to economic and social progress.

Mankind can eliminate the nuclear threat, halt the arms race and put an end to state terrorism. Only under these conditions will the essential funds be freed up for truly large-scale and effective assistance to the developing countries. The survival of hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America should be ensured not only with the aid of internal resources, but on the paths of international collaboration as well.

Against the background of a worsening of the international situation in the 1980s, the topicality of the most rapid possible solution of the global problems of the world community that are closely connected to each other--disarmament and development--is revealed with particular force. Most regrettable to say, the emergence of the arms race into a new military and technical spiral of development that draws practically all countries and continents into its orbit has become a reality of our times. In 1985 some 940 billion dollars were spent for military purposes around the world, which exceeds the GNPs of China, India and all of the sub-Saharan African countries taken together.<sup>5</sup>

The problems of disarmament and development, being relatively independent in and of themselves, are being manifested in world politics in a multi-factored relationship. The arms race has a ruinous influence on the development of the "third world" countries and engenders military conflicts that conceal a serious threat to international peace overall. The arms race is being implemented to a considerable extent through the exploitation of the developing world. As was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, "there exists an indisputable causal link between the trillion-dollar debt of these countries and the more than trillion-dollar increase in U.S. military spending over the last decade. Some 200 billion dollars is pumped out of the developing countries each year, and the military budget of the United States has been practically the same amount in recent years--also not a random coincidence."<sup>6</sup> It has been calculated that 1.5 million dollars are spent on earth for military purposes each minute, while 30 children die over the same period in the developing countries due to a lack of food or medicine.<sup>7</sup>

The logic of life itself persistently requires the re-orientation of at least a portion of the enormous funds spent today on the production of arms of mass destruction to the needs of economic development. The processes are in fact directly opposed. The excessive burden of the arms race is shouldered by the developing countries as well, included the most poorly developed of them. The growth rate of military spending in the "third world" countries, who are acutely in need of material and financial resources in order to solve a whole set of social and economic problems, even frequently exceeds that of the industrially developed countries.



There are at least two parameters that exist within the principal problem--the survival of mankind in the nuclear age: the military, which relates to all, and the economic, the interpretation of which is of a truly tragic nature for many developing countries, and first and foremost African ones. The necessity of survival is apparent. As M.S. Gorbachev noted in his message to the Conference on Disarmament, "it is namely disarmament, freeing up enormous amounts of material and intellectual resources, that will permit their shift to purposes of creation, economic development and prosperity."<sup>8</sup>

Disarmament and development are vitally needed by the developing countries. It is development, moreover, if one speaks of accelerating it, that could, over extensive historical time periods, put an end to the economic backwardness of the liberated countries and presupposes the necessity of large-scale financial investment on a democratic basis. The arms race preserves the backwardness of the economies of the "third world" countries liberated from colonialism, especially in Africa.

The seriousness of the economic problems before the liberated countries of Africa can be represented in a short analysis of the extant situation in that region. In recent years, questions of the critical state of the African economy and the increase in the difficulties of many countries of the continent in providing the population with food and the payment of enormous indebtedness have not been removed from the agenda of many regional African organizations. These questions have attracted the attention of the entire world community, and are being widely discussed in UN organs.

African leaders have described the drop in production that began in the 1980s as an economic and social crisis and have determined its principal causes. The preconditions for the crisis, which appeared as early as the middle of the 1970s, were aggravated by the negative influence of both domestic (drought and other ecological causes) and foreign factors. The Africans include among them: the crash in world foreign-trade prices, high interest payments on loans, fluctuations in the exchange rate of the dollar, stagnation in Western aid and increased protectionism. The development prospects of the majority of African countries, if they proceed in the old manner, places their very survival in doubt.<sup>9</sup>

The issue of the critical situation in Africa was the topic of discussion at the UN General Assembly special session convened in May of 1986. The session considered the difficult economic problems of the African continent and projected measures to resolve them. They relate first and foremost to the necessity of advancing one of the most important problems evoking the most contradictory opinions--the problem of the nature of economic aid to Africa.

The unresolved nature of the principal problem of mankind up to the present time--the problem of universal and complete disarmament--makes it impossible to resolve effectively the problem of overcoming the backwardness of the developing world as well. An especially difficult situation has taken shape with regard to Africa, which has begun to lag even Asia and Central America. According to UN data, its share of the entire GNP of the developing countries declined from 19 percent in 1975 to roughly 15 percent in 1982, and its

further decline is occurring due to the lower rates of GNP growth in the African countries.<sup>13</sup> Thus, as early as in 1979 the growth rate of the GNP of these countries declined to 4.8 percent (the average rate for all developing countries is 5.0 percent). In the following four years (1980-1983), they comprised 0.6 and 1.3 percent respectively.<sup>14</sup>

Independent Africa is applying great efforts to overcome the contemporary crisis situation and ensure the welfare of its countries and a better fate for its peoples. A special session of the UN General Assembly that discussed the crisis in Africa linked the intrinsic efforts of the peoples of the continent with a prospective substantial increase in foreign aid.

As the experience of history demonstrates, even carefully developed broad-scale development programs are difficult to fulfill due to the limited nature of the resources actually directed toward their implementation. A number of such broad-scale programs had been developed in Africa as early as the 1970s and 1980s. All of them were aimed at creating conditions for rapidly overcoming economic backwardness and envisaged major capital investments. In 1979 the United Nations, at the initiative of the ECA [Economic Commission for Africa] and the OAU [Organization of African Unity], adopted the program "A Decade of Industrial Development for Africa for the 1980s." The realization of the program would have required about 140 billion dollars.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, considerable sums were envisaged for financial sectors immediately associated with agriculture. A detailed agricultural development program was developed in the "Regional Food Plan for Africa," prepared by the FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization] as early as 1978 and approved by the OAU. The amount of spending according to the first stage of the plan was determined as 22 billion dollars.<sup>27</sup> This sum, however, turned out to be unrealistic. Today a new food plan for Africa with a regard for the necessity of executing a series of measures aimed at lessening and eliminating the consequences of drought is being developed. Attached to the aforementioned programs is the "Decade of Development of Transport and Communications in Africa for 1978-1988." The planned volume of spending for this program is determined as 30 billion dollars.<sup>28</sup>

The UN experts have thus been able to determine the need for the influx of capital to Africa that would allow these countries to accelerate the solution of the principal problems (development of industry, agriculture and transport). The question is, however, where to get these funds. Notwithstanding the colossal nature of the total amount of financial resources needed for this (about 190 billion dollars), it is fully comparable with the arms spending of a country like the United States. Today it has already surpassed 300 billion dollars.

The fact that the economic aid of the West is more and more tied to its military and political plans evokes particular concern. In the United States, for example, the report of the Committee for the Strategic Development of Africa envisages the combination of all American aid to the developing countries of Africa--military and economic--into a single "package." In the event of the implementation of such a "development strategy," it would provide an impetus not so much for economic development as it would for new growth in

military spending in Africa. The latter has already reached 15 billion dollars a year.

The fact that the consequences of the "peal" in the procurement of arms from the imperialist powers by some developing countries, including African ones, that occurred at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s will only have full effect by the end of the current decade and the beginning of the next one is very important. It is explained by the prolonged nature of the process of producing and delivering the modern types of arms and military equipment they ordered at that time, as well as the considerable period of time for their assimilation in the armed forces of the developing countries.

The large-scale diversion of resources to the arms race and other militaristic measures are severely reflected in the living standard of the workers in the developing countries and hinders the solution of a series of most acute socio-economic problems, including the struggle against hunger, poverty, illness, illiteracy etc. The African states spend an average of about 30 dollars a year per capita on arms, which is 6 times more than medical care and twice as much as education. It has been calculated that spending for the upkeep of a single soldier in the countries of the African continent is equal to the sum expended for the education, health care and social welfare of 364 civilians.<sup>54</sup> According to the calculations of a number of researchers, moreover, an additional 8 billion dollars a year would be sufficient to provide essential foodstuffs for those starving in the developing countries, while 22 billion dollars a year would suffice to resolve to problem of illiteracy and put an end to deadly diseases.

The inclusion of the developing countries in the arms race, to the detriment of their vital needs, is actively stimulated by imperialism, which seeks ever newer opportunities to leech off the difficulties of the current stage of development of this portion of humanity.

The doctrine of "neoglobalism" is a particular reflection of this approach. Under cover of arguments about the necessity of preserving the status-quo, the "neoglobalists" are making efforts to establish a world order that could be described as "global apartheid." The policy of imparting a permanent nature to seats of tension in Southeast Asia, the Middle and Near East, South Africa and Central America, aside from all else, pursues as its end a schism of the world of the developing countries and their isolation from each other and ultimately their exclusion from active participation in world affairs. The "neoglobalists" are placing their main bet therein on the creation of such an international situation where the compulsory assurance of their national security, rather than development, would acquire paramount significance for a large group of developing countries. They are counting on the fact that the developing countries, coming up against the broad-scale campaigns for destabilization, will be forced to be limited to the resolution of regional problems and will be unable to have any influence whatsoever on the course of world politics. Optimal conditions, according to the designs of some Western politicians, for the separate development of the states of North America, Western Europe and Japan on the one hand, and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other, would be created by bringing to a minimum the significance of the developing states as an influential political force in the



world arena. The problem of development would in that case be reduced to the problem of survival for the majority of the states of the "third world."

In the Soviet Union, it is felt that a continuation of the arms race, exhausting to the developing countries, is incompatible with the tasks of development. In place of the principle of armament instead of development should be substituted the principle of disarmament for development. And the first step on the path of global disarmament should be a complete halt to nuclear testing. The keen foreign-policy activity of the Soviet Union is directed toward the achievement of this aim. The support of the Soviet moratorium among broad segments of society in the developing countries and the leaders of the non-aligned movement at the latest session of this multinational forum in Harare testifies to the vital interest of the peoples of the Earth in halting the testing of deadly systems of nuclear arms. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his interview with the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, "these positions... confirm that new political thinking is making headway through outdated prejudices, obsolete notions and the obstruction of lies about the 'Soviet threat'."<sup>35</sup>

The unilateral moratorium on the part of the Soviet Union creates real preconditions for solving the problem of disarmament on a global scale.

The USSR is decisively against the policy of neoglobalism. The declaration of M.S. Gorbachev on Soviet television of 18 Aug 86 notes: "New thinking, which the modern world needs, is incompatible with notions of the world being someone's patrimony, efforts to 'be a benefactor' to others with one's guardianship and sermons on how to conduct oneself and what path to choose-- socialist, capitalist or other. The Soviet Union feels that every people and every country has the right to control its own fate and resources and to determine in a sovereign manner its own social development, defend its own security and participate in the organization of an all-encompassing system of international security."<sup>36</sup>

The position of the Soviet Union with regard to the most difficult problems before Africa is extremely clear. The Soviet Union demonstrates constant solidarity with the just struggle of African states against imperialist neocolonial policies of economic robbery and direct dictate and against the debt cabal and the aspirations of the imperialists to perpetuate poverty and economic backwardness in the countries of the African continent. The Soviet Union supports the efforts of African countries that are in favor of a restructuring of international economic relations on just and democratic foundations. "Our country is in favor of the immediate political settlement of the explosive situation in southern Africa," noted the greeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers to the participants in the 22nd Session of the Assembly of the Heads of State of the States and Governments of the member countries of the Organization of African Unity. "The Soviet Union decisively demands a halt to the aggression of the racists of Pretoria against the neighboring states in all of its forms and manifestations, the immediate granting of independence to Namibia based on the corresponding UN and OAU resolutions, the quickest possible elimination of the inhumane system of apartheid and, for these purposes, the imposition of all-encompassing sanctions against the misanthropic regime in South Africa, while

the Soviet people also express their solidarity with the courageous struggle of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia headed by the ANC and SWAPO."<sup>37</sup>

In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize once again that the solution of the vitally important problems of the African continent, and first and foremost its economic development, is indissolubly linked with the struggle for disarmament and the reinforcement of the overall security of peoples. The peoples and states of the African continent are called upon to make their contribution to the resolution of tasks on the scale of all of mankind--averting the danger of nuclear catastrophe, halting nuclear testing, arranging world collaboration in space to counterbalance the neoglobalist concept of "star wars," rejecting the arms race and creating a firm footing for an all-encompassing system of international security (which is precisely the purpose of the foreign-policy initiatives of the Soviet Union).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, p 6.
2. PRAVDA, 29 Jul 86.
3. Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, p 20.
4. Ibid., p 65.
5. World Situation. 1986. Organisation "World Watch." N.Y., 1986.
6. Materials..., p 18.
7. Grosse Schritte wagen. Über die Zukunft der Friedensbewegung. München, 1964, S 51.
8. PRAVDA, 21 Feb 86.
9. Special Memorandum by the ECA Conference of Ministers on Africa's Economic and Social Crisis. E/CN/CM. 10/37/Rev. 2, pp 5, 9.
13. Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics. 1977. Vol. 2 N.Y., 1978, pl. 1A; Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics. 1982. Vol. 2, N.Y., 1985, pl. 1.
14. World Economic Survey. UN. 1984, N.Y., 1985, pl. 1, 2.
26. A Programme for the Industrial Development Decade for Africa. N.Y., pp 32-33, 49.
27. OAU. The Lagos Plan of Action. Lagos, 1980, pp 20, 42.
28. Global Strategy for the Transport and Communication Decade in Africa (1978-1988). E/CN.H/TRANS/137, 9 Mar 78; Progress Report of UN Transport and Communication Decade in Africa. E/ECA/TCD/26, 15 Jun 85.
34. MEZHODUNARODNAYA ZHIZN. 1983. No 9, pp 124-125.
35. PRAVDA, 9 Sep 86.
36. PRAVDA, 19 Aug 86.
37. PRAVDA, 29 Jul 86.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821  
CSO: 1807/227

## EGYPT ASSAILED FOR PROMOTING 'BOURGEOIS NATIONALIST' IDEOLOGY

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 35-44

[Article by A. M. Vasilyev: "Egyptian Nationalism and Pan-Arabism (Historical Roots of a Discussion)"]

[Excerpts] Disputes in defining the "character" of Egypt within the framework of its mutual relationships with the other Arab and Muslim countries, the West and the socialist states have been going on for many decades within the Egyptian intelligentsia. The question of the identity and self-identity of Egyptians is being discussed: are the Egyptians a separately existing nation, or are they part of a "common Arab nation"? Does Egypt have a particular culture and civilization coming from the times of the Pharaohs, or is it part of the Arab and, in a broader sense of the word, even the Arab-Muslim civilization?

All of these questions are quite complex because, from the point of view of the majority of researchers--both Arab and non-Arab--the Egyptians, taken in isolation, undoubtedly have all of the traits of a nation. Features in common with other Arab peoples, however, are such that convincing arguments in favor of the "Arabism" of Egypt are possible, whether the discussion concerns language, culture, religion, common historical recollections or the similarity of historical fate.

A discussion of the "character" of Egypt is not at all of an abstract theoretical nature. Various political tendencies seek and find suitable armament for the political struggle in the slogans of nationalism--both Egyptian and Arab. The sphere of this struggle encompasses both internal socio-economic development and foreign policy.

The weight and reputation of Egypt is so great within the Arab world that shifts in its international policies and their ideological basis cannot help but evoke a broad response in the other Arab states. Historically and politically, the question is posed thus: either Egypt remains the overall Arab leader--and this assumes its dedication to general Arab ideals and the anti-imperialist substance of its actions; or, it quits the Arab ranks, in that manner inflicting most serious harm on the general Arab cause, and is transformed in essence into a client state of the West in the Near East and closes ranks with egoistic particularist nationalism. The possible



consequences of such a course of action have never been a secret to the political figures and thinkers of the Arab world, but they were manifested particularly distinctly after the visit of then-president of Egypt Sadat to Jerusalem in 1977. "Egypt is neither the beginning nor the end... Whereas the Arab nation is great in conjunction with Egypt, Egypt can only be great together with the Arab nation," stated the communique of the Tripoli summit meeting of the leaders of Arab countries (1977) convened to discuss the situation in the Arab world.<sup>1</sup>

Against this background, a discussion developed in the Cairo press in 1978 on a definition of the "character" of Egypt. Under conditions where the Sadat regime was inclined toward concluding a separate peace agreement with Israel and the attention of scholarly thought and commentators was confined to the political situation that was taking shape in the "Egypt--United States--Israel" trident, this discussion was not reflected in the Soviet scholarly press. Many aspects of the discussion, however, are interesting. Its founder was Tawfiq Al-Hakim, an elder statesman of Egyptian literature, who willingly or unwillingly expressed in his articles the views that were able to serve as the ideological justification of the separatist and anti-Arab course of Sadat. Tawfiq Al-Hakim wrote that "the future of Egypt is neutrality, like the neutrality of Switzerland or Austria."<sup>2</sup> The writer asserted that Egypt had waged wars for the other Arabs, defending others' interests rather than their own. They spilled blood and sacrificed their economy. "We are experiencing decline and ruin, while others flourish." He noted that the oil-rich countries were attracting Egyptian scientists, teachers and artists, leaving Egypt in poverty and misery. In point of fact, what occurred after the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Sultan Selim, who brought the craftsmen and scientists to Istanbul, was being repeated. The Arabs should share the burden with Egypt. Tawfiq Al-Hakim was calling for Egypt to leave the state of confrontation with Israel.<sup>3</sup> "When we say that the Arabs are one nation with a common fate, these are empty words lacking a realistic basis," because reality is that "every Arab state has its own intrinsic fate," he added.<sup>4</sup>

A discussion began on the pages of Egyptian newspapers and magazines that in its heatedness surpassed the intellectual sparring of the advocates and opponents of the concept of the "Pharaohism" in the 1920s and 1930s, as did sharp disputes about the "character" of Egypt after the defeat in the war with Israel in 1967.

At first glance, the debate of 1978 introduced little that was new from the point of view of the theory of nationalism. Various sides repeated many arguments that had already been expressed both in the middle of the 1930s and at the end of the 1960s. The historical roots of the views of the participants in the discussion were reviewed with sufficient certainty.

A number of trends in Egyptian social and political thought turned to Arab nationalism--pan-Arabism--comparatively recently--in the 1930s. Due to objective causes, it was not Egyptians, but rather emigrants from Syria, Lebanon and Iraq that were the creators of the ideology of pan-Arabism. The national-liberation struggle of the Egyptians and the Arabs east of the Suez followed divergent rather than convergent paths up to the end of the First World War. Great Britain was the colonial oppressor of Egypt at the end of

the 19th and in the first half of the 20th centuries, and many Egyptians naively counted on the Ottoman sultan-caliph in the struggle against it. The enemy and oppressor of the Arabs east of the Suez was the Ottoman Empire. The slogan of the Orabi-Pashi Revolution--"Egypt for the Egyptians"--was next taken up by the Watanites--the party created by Mustafa Kamil. At that time, the foundation of the future ideology of pan-Arabism (then on an anti-Turkish basis) was being laid by Syrians, Lebanese and Iraqis.

The Egyptian nationalism of the Watanites was colored with pan-Islamism and Ottomanism. The next propagators of Egyptian nationalism were the Wafdists headed by Saad Zaglul and the liberal-"Westernists" of the Lyutfi as-Seyid type close to him. The liberal landed intelligentsia came to consider the Egyptians as a separate nation developing from a "Pharaohist kernel." The further course of history, including Arabization and Islamization, created a unique fusion distinct from other Arab and Muslim peoples. Egypt should develop along a special path, not coinciding with that along which the other Arab countries were proceeding, the liberal-"Westernists" felt.

Lyutfi as-Seyid and like thinkers mechanically transferred the European concept of "nation" to the Egyptians, having in mind therein the necessity of "Europeanization," "modernization" and the copying of Western bourgeois "models." Their ideal was the liberation of Egypt from semicolonial dependence and its development along a Western path, including such of its distinguishing features as constitutionalism, parliamentarianism, the division of powers and other attributes of bourgeois democracy. Lyutfi as-Seyid at the same time acknowledged the presence of the special bonds linking the Egyptians with the other Arabs.

"Pharaohism" became an extreme and moreover romanticized form of Egyptian nationalism--the affirmation of the original, non-Arab and non-Muslim nature of the Egyptian people, Egyptian culture and way of thinking. The writers Taha Hussein and Tawfiq al-Hakim, the poet Ahmed Shawki, Muslim thinkers Ahmed Amin and Mustafa al-Manfalyuty, literary scholars Muhammed Heykal and Hussein Fawzi and romantic socialist of a Fabianist bent Salam Musa were present at the birth of "Pharaohism." Some "Pharaohists" tried to elevate the Egyptian dialect to the level of a special language and separate Egypt from the other Arab countries.

Taha Hussein, in the 1920s and 1930s a Francophone and a Westernist, in his widely famous book "The Future of Culture in Egypt" (1938), called upon Egypt to catch up to Europe, feeling that it belonged to some "Mediterranean," rather than Arab-Muslim, civilization. He asserted that "there are no substantive differences between the ways of thinking of the Egyptian and the European, insofar as the one and the other arise on the basis of Greek and Roman cultures and religions."<sup>15</sup>

Under the garments of "Pharaohism" were concealed a cautious secularism, an effort to weaken the influence of Islam on the intellectual life of Egyptians in society overall and to substitute bourgeois nationalism for religious ideology. In this sense "Pharaohism" has analogues in the form of pan-Turkism or pan-Iranism. Not resolved to proceed to a schism with religions on the example of the Turkish Kemalists, however, the Egyptian intellectuals

criticized Islam and the Muslim legacy extremely carefully and immediately backed off when they encountered the mighty opposition of the Islamic fundamentalists who were rapidly gathering force. "Pharaohism" remained in essence the subject of intellectual exercises of the liberals educated in the Western fashion and was unable to appeal to the feelings and views of the masses living by a system of traditional values, and it did not become an effective political slogan. Liberal bourgeois ideas, concealed in the clothing of "Pharaohism," were compromised by palace intrigues and collaboration with the British. The modernization of the country at the expense of the masses became nothing more than pseudo-modernization of the political facade.

But the crisis of particularist Egyptian nationalism is explained not just by causes of a domestic Egyptian nature, but also by the situation in the Near East overall. It had become clear that the national problems of Egypt could not be resolved artificially aloof from general Arab problems. And there was another substantive element: the strengthened Egyptian bourgeoisie, including the Copts grouped around the Misr Bank, turning in a search for markets to neighboring Arab countries, recalled and brought up "Arabism" and the "Arabic nature" of Egypt and its traditional contacts with the Arab world. "We are Arabs," declared Copt Makram Ubeyd, general secretary of the landed-bourgeois Wafd Party. "We should always remember that we are Arabs, united by suffering and hopes, joined by catastrophes and common pain, fused in one crucible so well that we became nations alike in all spheres of life."<sup>16</sup>

The advocates of Arab nationalism quickly found ever newer disciples. This was facilitated by the evolution of pan-Arabism in the Arab countries east of the Suez. Whereas earlier the Arab nation was understood to mean Arabs to the east and north of Egypt, in the 1930s it came to include all Arabs--Egyptians, Sudanese and the residents of the Magrib countries. The founder of the secular concept of pan-Arabism, Syrian Saty al-Husri, who settled permanently in Egypt, became an ardent advocate of the Arab nature of Egypt--a component of the Arab nation--and a critic of Egyptian particularist nationalism.<sup>17</sup> History and language, in his opinion, were the foundation of the nation. So what if the concepts "nation" (ummah), "motherland" (watan) and "nationalism" (gawmiyah), then as now, were still undeveloped by Arab social thought! So what if they were treated as foreign historical categories deprived of class content! So what if the concept of "nation" lacked economic unity--mostly simply because economic exchange among the Arab countries was scanty. The idea of the commonality of interests and the fate of all Arabs in their struggle against imperialist Western Europe was winning hearts and minds. Urubah (Arabism), which Soviet researcher Z.I. Levin translates as "Arab spirit," "Arab nationalism" or "Arab self-awareness,"<sup>18</sup> is becoming a constituent element of the ideology of practically all of however many noticeable political forces.

Palestine became the focal point upon which pan-Arabist sentiments were concentrated. The rise of the state of Israel, the defeat of the Arabs in the first Arab-Israeli conflict, the seizure of a considerable portion of Palestine, which should have been part of an Arab state, by Israel, which insulted national dignity--all of this facilitated a strengthening of pan-Arabist inclinations on an anti-imperialist basis. They were generated by the



Palestinians themselves, a considerable portion of whom was scattered about the Arab world.

Pan-Arabism was taken up by the "revolutionary officers" of Egypt as an important component of their ideology. As early as in his "Philosophy of Revolution," Gamal Abdel Nasser defined the place of Egypt as being in "three circles": Arab, African and Muslim.<sup>19</sup> The most important of these was Arab, with which the Egyptians were linked by a commonality of history, religion and interests. The Arab countries are a geographical entity, the followers of Nasser felt. They have one and the same problems, they have a common fate and they have a single enemy, albeit in different disguises. All of this predetermines the necessity of Arab unity on an anti-imperialist basis. It was namely anti-imperialism that was the core of pan-Arabism in the understanding of the Nasserites.

Aside from Nasserism, Arab nationalism was represented by two other main trends: Ba'aism and the Arab nationalists' movement. All three trends were based on anti-imperialist positions and rejected (at least in words) the "model" of Western development on the capitalist path. (Socio-political practice could signify, on the contrary, the liberation of the forces of capitalist development in various segments of society and in various spheres of socio-economic development. Nasser's agrarian reforms, for example, led to an acceleration of the development of capitalist relations in the Egyptian village.) At the same time, all three trends preached their adherence to the ideals of socialism in various forms and tried to combine a number of the positions of scientific socialism with Arab nationalism and the Islamic legacy.

It is natural that at various stages of development, coming up against the realities of the existence of individual Arab states, the nationalists treated the slogan of nationalism in different ways. The majority of them felt that state combination was a matter for the distant future and it was necessary first and foremost to achieve a unity of action and a unity of purpose.

In the 1970s, and more so in the 1980s, it became clear that as a consequence of a number of causes, the ideology of pan-Arabism was undergoing a crisis, perhaps a temporary one. One of these causes was the failure of the merger of Egypt and Syria within the framework of a United Arab Republic, which demonstrated how great the socio-economic obstacles to the implementation of unity of two countries were even in the face of political will for it on the part of their leaders. In the Arab war with Israel in 1967, hopes of resurrecting Arab national pride and reinforcing independence based on nationalism met with bitter defeat on the field of battle.

The unity of action of the conservative Arab regimes with Syria and Egypt in 1973 was explained by the fear of provoking a negative reaction among their own populations in the event of digression from the support of those who were fighting against Israel. This support served the intrinsic interests of the ruling classes in the conservative Arab states as well, as the Arab-Israeli war was a pretext for a sharp rise in oil prices, the economic conditions for which had already come to a head. The new financial might of the Arab oil monarchies, especially Saudi Arabia, facilitated a displacement of the balance

of forces in the Arab arena in favor of the conservatives, for whom the slogans of pan-Arabism have always been alien. They advanced Islamic slogans to the forefront. The commonality of purpose and--in a number of cases--action of the Arab countries was replaced by a delimitation based on various regimes and the various socio-economic and political trends they embodied.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a strengthening of particularist or regional nationalism was universally observed in the Arab world. Whereas the Arab leaders continued to pay tribute in their official appearances to the ideas of pan-Arabism and the slogans of Arab unity, in practical matters they were guided by their own interests to an even greater extent than before. Even the slogan of Arab unity came to be considered through the prism of the slogan of regional association, in truth calling it a step toward general Arab association. The ideas of "Greater Arab Magrib," which would include Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania, occupied a large place in the propaganda and ideological discussions in the Arab West. In political practice, however, these ideas led to a schism of these countries. Ideological principles turned out to be relegated to the background by political pragmatism. In Egypt and the Sudan they began speaking more and more often of the "unity of the Nile valley," emphasizing first and foremost the proximity of Egypt and Sudan as opposed to the other Arab countries. In Syria, which was considered the "living heart of pan-Arabism," some people spoke persistently of plans for "Greater Syria"--if not openly, then assuming this goal.

Even the Palestinian problem, which was a unifying factor for various types of Arab nationalism, more often than not divided the Arabs. This transpired as early as the 1970s, and by the middle of the 1980s had become fact, although possibly also a transient one.

Different social and political forces could impart different substance to the Arab nationalistic slogans, but a definite impression of anti-imperialism was preserved therein. The Sadat bloodless counterrevolution was objectively committed in the interests of a new ruling class--a social conglomerate consisting of parasitic and compradorist bourgeoisie and the upper reaches of the bureaucratic apparatus based on the mass body of rich peasants. The Sadat regime was ready for compromise with imperialism. Discarding the Nasser legacy, including in the ideological sphere, he rejected pan-Arabism as well. The effort to re-animate particularist nationalism to counterbalance Arab nationalism was therefore natural for the semi-official ideology of Sadat's Egypt. As early as in a speech apropos of the "October Workers' Document," which defined the principal direction of the country's development after the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, Sadat did not even mention Arab unity. On the other hand, however, he praised the Egyptians, "in whose hearts live millenia of civilizations created and lost by them."<sup>20</sup> In his speeches the words "eternal Egyptian culture," "eternal history" and "the grandeur of the past" began to be heard more and more often. A nationalistic song of the 1930s, "O My Country," became the anthem of Egypt.

"Pharaohism" with a new face turned out to be as unattractive to the masses in the 1970s as it was in the 1920s and 1930s. The Sadat regime, in the struggle against revolutionary democrats and all leftists, therefore tried to base

itself on the ideas of the Islamic fundamentalists, but soon became convinced of how dangerous this double-edged weapon was. The split of the "Muslim Brothers" and other fundamentalists with the regime after its capitulation at Camp David and the separate peace with Israel became apparent. Those who dealt with Sadat left the Muslim fundamentalists.

Whereas at the end of the 1970s the Egyptian intellectuals were using arguments and slogans that were far from new, the conditions under which their discussions unfolded were fundamentally new. The Camp David course was a manifestation of the specific aspirations of the Egyptian ruling conglomerate, especially its upper reaches. Agreeing to the role of junior partner to the multinational corporations, they were ready to play a subordinate role in the system of imperialism in the realm of foreign policy as well. In the realm of ideology, as in politics and economics, these upper reaches displayed a readiness to capitulate on all points. An adherence to pan-Arabism was in essence unnecessary to strengthen the regime within the country under conditions of a split in relations with the other Arab states and the relative isolation of Egypt in the Arab arena. Under the specific historical conditions, the banner of neocompradorist-Levantism in Egypt turned out to be the color of Egyptian nationalism. Becoming Americanized in daily life, education and ideology, the Egyptian compradores, striving to disorient the masses, began to come forward as the preachers of particularist Egyptian nationalism.

The reaction to this ideology in the discussions of the "character" of Egypt and the "Arabism" of Egypt at the end of the 1970s was manifested in the "eroded" form of depictions first and foremost of a censored nature. Social and political trends of various colorings became the opponents of the ideology of the neocompradores. Among them were the Egyptian Marxists and the Muslim fundamentalists--the most massive and mighty trend in Egyptian society today--along with the advocates of Arab nationalism--pan-Arabism--and the preachers of patriotically treated Egyptian nationalism. We note that this type of Egyptian nationalism ultimately assumes the greatness of Egypt and its leading role in the region along with the affirmation of the national pride of the Egyptians, which contradicted Camp David, as well as a subordinate position with relation to Israel and national humiliation.

The disputes over the "character" of Egypt and the "Arabism" of Egypt were in a way conducted on two levels--a superficial and a deeper, defining one. The superficial level touched on the issue of what to give preference to: Egyptian nationalism or Arab nationalism. In essence, the dispute was over the choice of development path for the country.

Discussion at the end of the 1970s regarding Arab and Egyptian nationalism could at first glance seem a semi-academic dispute of handfuls of Egyptian literary scholars, sociologists and philosophers. In fact the discussion concerned the ideological justification or the repudiation of the Sadat course. This dispute concealed various socio-political principles. Whatever the case may be, the ideas of pan-Arabism in Egypt were not at all reduced to naught, they continue to live in the slogans of Arab solidarity, inter-Arab collaboration and common tasks in the realms of culture and education, although the ideas of the political integration of the Arab countries at this



stage have in essence lost real significance. But the Egyptian nationalism of Lyuis Avad and several others had a clear anti-Sadat thrust and was opposed to the official ideology of the regime.

Nationalism in all of its varieties, both Arab and particularist, especially with a Muslim tint, remains the reigning ideology in the majority of Arab countries. It emphasizes national originality, which is based on national traditions, roots, culture, religion and history, and moreover, as in any other nationalism, these traits are becoming hypertrophied. But the essence of the problem is defined by which specifically socio-political and economic tendencies nationalism is accompanied by, whose class interests they reflect and what development path (development "model") they assume. It is namely the socio-class content of nationalism that is currently moving to the forefront. Among the advocates of the one and the other concepts of the "character" of Egypt--pan-Arabism and Egyptian nationalism--there turned out to be leftists and rightists and advocates of both progressive socio-economic and political transformations and retrograde appeasers.

The lack of a unity of views with regard to nationalism, be it Egyptian or Arab, is natural. It reflects the nature of the ideological struggle in Egyptian society after the bloodless Sadat counterrevolution. The return of capitalist orientation, the triumph of the neocompradores, solving or creating the appearance of solving certain problems, evokes other problems on a mass scale and of a complexity so acute that social cataclysms in Egypt seem simply preprogrammed. The so-called "police revolt" (1968) was a quite convincing example of this type. An inevitable worsening of the class and social struggle in the most unexpected of forms awaits the country, and this predetermines a sharpening of the ideological struggle, including on issues that are touched on in a discussion of the role and place of Egypt in the Arab world and its mutual relations with the imperialist West and the selection of the paths of socio-economic development.

A specific feature of the modern Egyptian situation is not simply the manipulation of slogans by the neocompradores, but their ideologically unprincipled nature and propagandistic mimicry. The preference they give to Egyptian nationalism today is a variable quantity and not a solid position. Today they can argue the grandeur of Egyptian civilization, and tomorrow glorify a unified Arab nation, vow their verity to Islamic traditions and at the same time babble about modernization. Slogans, symbols and propagandistic cliches are nothing but verbal skin that covers the pile of cash of their own self-seeking interests. The cynical contempt of the neocompradores for words and slogans creates additional complexities for the researcher in deciphering the riddle of Egyptian ideological life. Only the practical experience of social and political trends can provide the key to solving this riddle.

The national interests of Egypt and the gain of the neocompradores are pointed in opposite directions. It is more and more clear to the majority of Egyptians and other Arabs and to unbiased researchers that the grandeur of Egypt and its socio-economic progress can only be achieved on the paths of conducting independent policies and collaboration with the other Arab countries. The state on the Nile is able to return to its fitting role at the regional and international levels. But this can only occur, they feel, on an

anti-imperialist basis and in collaboration with the genuine allies of the developing countries.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Middle East Reporter. 10 Dec 77, p 17.
2. AL-AHRAM. 3 Mar 78.
3. AL-AHBAR. 18 Mar 78.
4. AL-AHRAM. 13 Apr 78.
15. Taha Hussein. "Mustakbal as-sakafa fi misr" [The Future of Culture in Egypt]. Cairo, 1944, p 30.
16. Quoted from: Abdel-Malek. Anthologie de la literature arabe contemporaine. Paris, 1965, p 127.
17. See: T.P. Tikhonova. "Svetskaya kontseptsiya arabskogo natsionalizma Saty al-Hursi" [The Secular Concept of the Arab Nationalism of Saty al-Hursi]. Moscow, 1984; Z.I. Levin. "Razvitiye arabskoy obshchestvennoy mysli. 1917-1945" [The Development of Arab Social Thought. 1917-1945]. Moscow, 1979, pp 48-49.
18. Z.I. Levin. Op. cit., p 42.
19. Gamal Abdel Nasser. "Falsafat as-saura" [Philosophy of Revolution]. Cairo, 1956, pp 91-92.
20. AL-AHBAR. 4 Apr 74.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821  
CSO: 1807/227

## 'ISLAMIZATION' OF PAKISTAN UNDER ZIA REGIME CRITICIZED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 45-54

[Article by O.V. Pleshov: "'Islamization' in Pakistan: Motives and Means of Implementation"]

[Excerpts] In literature, including scholarly literature, "Islamization" is often considered to be a means of affirming cultural or spiritual traditions. It appears much more rarely as a tool of political struggle. The modern history of Pakistan, meanwhile, abounds with examples where "Islamization" is used for specific political purposes. All of the political regimes that have ruled the country since it was formed in 1947 have to one extent or another profited by Islam and exploited certain aspects of the concept of the Islamic state or what is called "Islamic ideology" today. The opposition has in turn advanced to the fore questions of how completely the powers are satisfying the demands of the masses for "Islamization." Thus, whereas the government (any government) always comes forward as the champion of Islamic values, the backbone of the opposition is usually made up of a puritanical group that accuses the government of insufficient adherence to Islam and insufficiently consistent incorporation of Islamic principles in all areas of life.

Roughly the same thing is happening in Pakistan today as well, but the circumstances associated with the struggle around the problems of "Islamization" have certain specific features.

### The Experience of Former Regimes

Even before India's winning of independence, the Muslim nationalist camp included many people who felt that in the future state of Pakistan, the activity of the prophet Mohammed and his followers should be taken into account to the maximum extent, and in many spheres of life even copied. M.A. Jinnah, the acknowledged leader of Indian Muslims during the struggle for Pakistan, had a very skeptical attitude toward such views and like many other leaders of the national liberation movement imagined the future Muslim state of Indostan as a bourgeois republic with a parliamentary system according to the British prototype. In the Lahore Revolution (1940), which laid the basis for the concluding stages of the struggle for the creation of Pakistan, nothing was said about Islam as the ideological basis of the Muslim state of Indostan.<sup>1</sup> For Jinnah, the chief significance of Islam was to mobilize the

masses of Indian Muslims for the struggle to create their own state. His successors also made widespread use of the mobilizing function of Islam, especially for anti-Indian propaganda. All three wars with India (1948, 1965, 1971) were preceded by intense anti-Hindu campaigns.

The administrations of Ayub-Khan and Yahya-Khan armed themselves with the ideals of Islamic renaissance for political purposes, and sometimes they acquired pan-Islamic overtones. At a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Muslim states (1970), the representative of the government of Pakistan, Nawabzada Sher Ali-Khan, advanced a proposal to create a permanent secretariat of the Islamic countries--an organ that would take on the functions of organizing international Islamic forums and coordinating the foreign-policy activity of the Muslim governments. This idea subsequently materialized in the creation of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Attempts to use Islam for political purposes were also not foreign to Z.A. Bhutto. At his initiative, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) advanced the slogan of "Islamic socialism." He felt that such a slogan was essential to the PPP regime first and foremost because it advantageously distinguished the policies of his government from the efforts of Ayub-Khan aimed at reinforcing the state bureaucratic apparatus and creating a system that would embody social justice. The concept of "socialism," according to the thinking of PPP ideologists, opposed policies whose sole aim was to satisfy the spiritual needs of the Pakistani elite. The concept of "Islamic" emphasized the just nature of the system being established.<sup>2</sup>

Bhutto assumed that Islamic elements would have to be introduced into the lexicon, and perhaps even into everyday PPP practice, so as to neutralize the propaganda directed against the ruling regime by the Jama'at-i-Islami and the Muslim League, who accused him of digression from Islamic principles and even of a liking for communism. Bhutto was thus also unable to convince the ulema that the ideas of "Islamic socialism" were cast upon him by the dictates of conscience, that this was the result of a creative interpretation of the Koran and the Sunnah and the use of the independent ijtehad for the purpose of implementing long-needed reforms in social life. In any case, it was namely these motives that were unsuccessfully played up in his statements after his former comrade-in-arms and cabinet member Maulana Kausar Niazi split with him. His subsequent reasoning was widely used by the Pakistan National Alliance in the struggle against the PPP regime and ultimately played a definite role in the deposition of Bhutto.

#### "The Most Islamic System"

As early as in the election campaigns of 1970, Bhutto advanced four slogans that served as the propagandistic creed of the PPP government right up to 1977: "Islam is our faith," "Democracy is our system of state structure," "Socialism is our economy" and "All power to the people!" On the eve of the 1985 elections, Zia ul-Haq considerably radicalized (and simplified) his political credo. He declared: "Islam is our religion, our economy and our system of rule." Thus was the foundation laid for the prolonged and pervasive process of "Islamization."



"Islamization," according to Zia ul-Haq, is characterized by the fact that, compared to preceding regimes, it really affects the principal spheres of life of Pakistani society--law and order, education, economics and culture. How much the changes made were in essence Islamic is a separate question. Some ulema inclined toward the opposition feel that they were insufficiently Islamic. In form, however, they undoubtedly seemed to be Islamic.

In 1979, shari'a departments were created at all four supreme courts (provincial level) and charged with the function of surveillance--in each individual case, determining if this or that decision of the civil courts corresponded to the writings of the Koran and the Sunnah. A shari'a appellate department was created at the Supreme Court of Pakistan. After a year, this system was altered and a federal shari'a court was created in place of the shari'a departments of the supreme courts. A traditionally Islamic system of punishment was introduced for various crimes that stipulated public floggings, amputations of extremities, stoning and fines. The harshest punishments were applied in cases of adultery, theft and the use of alcoholic beverages.

The Council of Islamic Ideology, created by Bhutto as a concession to the ulema and in fact idle, acquired exceptionally great weight. Like the federal shari'a court in the sphere of law and order, this council was the highest level of authority in the realm of legislation, determining the correspondence of laws to Islamic principles.

"Islamic democracy" was advanced to counter the concept of "parliamentary democracy." What was apparently in mind was a form of civilian rule which will replace the current one once Islamic customs are finally confirmed in Pakistan. Aside from the most general and contradictory observations on the substance of this concept, however, no serious explanations of "Islamic democracy" have been given.

In the sphere of education, the introduction of segregated study by men and women, more steadfast attention to the study of Islam and the Arabic language (having in mind making the propagation of Islamic values more active) was envisaged. The activity of the mass media was correspondingly changed, state employees were obliged to pray five times a day and women were forbidden to take part in sporting competitions together with men.

There were many innovations in the realm of economics. Taxes envisaged obligatory payments for the poor, widows, cripples and orphans. An army of employees numbering a quarter of a million was created to collect them. An ushr--a tax on agricultural products--was levied; it was imposed on all whose incomes exceeded the price of 948 kilograms of wheat. Banks were forbidden to charge their clients interest. A system of partnership of creditor and debtor with proportional participation in profits was introduced instead.

The scope (if not the depth) of the "Islamic transformations" carried out forced the ulema to acknowledge that the current political system was the most "Islamic" in the history of Pakistan, and that General Zia ul-Haq was the most "Islamic" president. Zia ul-Haq himself had a most pragmatic attitude toward "Islamization." Being a careful politician, he understood that by coming

forward as the champion of universal Islam, he would have new opportunities at his disposal never before revealed in Pakistan. Since then he has taken the course of consistent transformation of these opportunities into reinforcement of his own personal position at the apex of state power in the country.

#### The Ideological Foundations of "Islamization"

Soon after seizing power, Zia ul-Haq declared: "Pakistan is an ideological state. The duty of the armed forces is to defend its geographical boundaries and its ideology. The armed forces will always preserve it from the intrigues of enemies both foreign and domestic."<sup>5</sup> In later statements, Zia ul-Haq explained what he means by an "ideological state." In his opinion, it is a state where Allah is sovereign. All citizens are just servants of Allah. To focus on the material needs of people (an allusion to the policies of the Bhutto regime, which advanced the formulation "roti, kapra, makan"--"bread, clothing and shelter"--as the pre-election slogan of the PPP) is to infect the people with a "deadly virus." The spiritual should predominate. Humility should always be at the basis of the behavior of the Muslim.

Expanding on his ideas on the need to defend the ideology of Pakistan, Zia ul-Haq soon began to assert that elections were not salvation for Pakistan, since three fourths of the population is illiterate and thus cannot decide what is good or bad for themselves. Immediately after the coup, Zia ul-Haq repeated many times, including at an interview with foreign correspondents, that the army fulfills the function of establishing order and, as soon as the situation becomes normal, elections will be held. The abrupt change in tone and almost word-for-word repetition of the point of view on elections and the democratic process overall was perceived outside the right-wing circles of the Muslim clergy in Pakistan and abroad as the final choice of Zia ul-Haq in favor of the assertion of a regime of personal power with the aid of the ulema. The president soon altered his point of view on elections, elaborating that even a poor likeness of them was absolutely necessary, since otherwise he risked an uprising against him by the urban segments and, mainly, the appearance of democracy which he was counting on to adorn his regime would vanish forever. In 1980 it was declared that elections would nonetheless not contradict the canons of Islam, and it was promised yet again that they would be held, but would be conducted "within the framework of the Islamic system."<sup>6</sup> It was already clear by then that this will signify, in addition to the realities of the political struggle in Pakistan, substantial limitations of the activity of the political parties, if not their outright ban. This was confirmed in March of 1981. The activity of all parties was forbidden, and the military reserved for itself the right to disband any party that "came out against Islam."<sup>7</sup>

If the task of the army actually consisted of maintaining order, as Zia ul-Haq had declared, then it was fulfilled as early as the beginning of 1978, but the army was not returned to the barracks--not that year or in subsequent years. This was only done in 1986, after the abrogation of martial law. The dragging out of the abrogation of martial law was permitted by the same army that was counting on the prolonged mission to restructure Pakistani society in accordance with the requirements of Islam that the army had taken on.

Having proclaimed the introduction of "Islamic norms" in all spheres of life, Zia ul-Haq had unprecedented freedom of political maneuver. With the guaranteed support of the ulema, he was able to create and abolish political institutions, conduct social experiments, interpret the laws of religion and determine the directions of development of national culture. The freedom in politics was especially valuable. Islam does not prescribe any clearly regulated principles of constitutional structure or political theory. Those political principles that were used by the prophet Mohammed in creating a state in Medina were based neither on the Koran nor the Suddah but on the political practices extant at the time. This was the result of agreement of the prophet and his companions, i.e. the theory changes and is adapted to changing reality. In other words, the head of the military regime had obtained the legal right to act as he saw fit. Referenda, elections or, on the contrary, the lack of them, could all be interpreted as steps in the direction of "Islamic order." Even a series of legislative measures that Zia ul-Haq implemented in order to disarm the opposition, including the actual ban on parties, could be presented as acts aimed at strengthening "Islamic order." By the end of 1985 Zia ul-Haq, relying on the Muslim clergy, had secured himself in all possible areas except one--nationalism. Notwithstanding the assertions of his administration that the idea of a unified Pakistani nation was gathering force over the years, several events made it necessary to think not only about the correctness of this idea, but about the future existence of Pakistan as a unified state altogether.

#### Secular Nationalism

The transformation of the eastern province of Pakistan into the independent state of Bangladesh in 1971 is an example of how centrifugal tendencies can become stronger than the idea of unity according to just one religious trait. The fact that Zia ul-Haq quite often condemns provincial nationalism shows that this problem seriously troubles him. In recent years, provincial nationalism, which sometimes takes the form of linguistic but, importantly, always secular nationalism, i.e. not associated with religion, is being manifested more and more often in all four provinces of the country. In Sind, Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier provinces, anti-Punjab inclinations are growing at a rapid rate. Local nationalists are demanding an increase in the quotas for their participation in administrative service and the armed forces and are insisting on a more substantial share of the allocations from the central budget for the needs of economic development of their provinces. In all three provinces, an organized nationalist movement has existed for many years,<sup>8</sup> and moreover those such as Avami Tehrik (Popular Movement) in Sind and those like it have a clearly separatist hue. Demands for national autonomy on the verge of separatism are being advanced by several organizations in Baluchistan. The year 1985 was commemorated by the fact that three nationalist trends or at least certain of their leading representatives undertook an effort in London to combine forces, creating an organization under the name of the Sind-Baluchi-Pushtu Front. The question of "Pushtunistan" has yet to be removed from the agenda.

The problem of national integration was quite acute during the rule of the PPP regime as well. The democratic system created by Bhutto, however, with all of



its shortcomings and imperfections, including on the plane of ensuring autonomy, possessed sufficient flexibility, reputation and support among the masses so as to arrange relations between the localities and the center. Therefore, even though the center even conducted military operations in Baluchistan right up until 1977, some important concessions aimed at increasing the autonomy of the province were made nonetheless. A dialogue between the mutinous Sardars, who refused to recognize the power of Islamabad over them, and the regime continued until the fall of Bhutto.<sup>9</sup>

Now, when there was no cementing factor like the democratic system with its practice of reporting and bilateral contact between the center and the localities, the full weight of preserving and reinforcing the integrity of Pakistan fell on the military regime, and those individuals who fulfilled the functions of organizing forces in the corresponding echelons of the government apparatus. Of course, if the military had had some kind of socio-economic program that promised social progress for the population in the provinces, including broader autonomy than before, harmonious relations characteristic of a federal state could possibly have been set up between the center and the localities. The army had no such program. Its leaders posed other tasks and advanced other priorities. And what attractive program could the army propose, for example, in Baluchistan, where it had fulfilled an exclusively oppressive role for decades? After all, even the previous regime, with its ability to maneuver and extinguish flare-ups of regional sentiments, was unable to attract the Baluchi Sardars to their side and achieve the full political and economic integration of Baluchistan into Pakistan. Not every Baluchi was filled with the ideas of Pakistani statehood, or even thought about such problems at all. For many, the realities of clan and tribal life still pushed all other problems into the background. That is the sort of person who was supposed to become an initial component of the state along with the Punjab peasant, the Pushtu cattle-herder and the Karachi businessman. In other words, the issue was the old task, which arises before any government of Pakistan, of achieving national unity. Before, however, it had existed within the framework of reinforcing Pakistani statehood. Now, after the formation of Bangladesh and the separatist unrest that occurred in Sind in 1983, it existed within the framework of the task of preserving statehood. A substantive distinction that required corrections of both strategy and tactics. Some common factor that would play a equally effective role in relation to all components of Pakistan was needed.

Zia once again chose Islam as that common factor. He carefully studied the experience of the Bhutto government and saw where its power lie. He saw that the execution of a policy in principle and the transformation of strategic policies into everyday political practice was accomplished by the PPP. It had interpreted this or that general slogan in accordance with local conditions and had monitored their fulfillment. Zia decided to transfer these organizing and connecting functions to the ulama and their parties, the Jama'at-i-Islami and the Muslim League (Pagaro). The issue, of course, was not some official agreement reached as the result of prolonged negotiations fraught with dramatic turnabouts. This was a tacit agreement with the leaders of these parties.<sup>10</sup> The so-called Official Party Group, whose members also consisted either of the aforementioned two parties or were associated with them, was supposed to act in the National Assembly. A group of trusted functionaries in



the center and in the localities was thus created as the foundation of the state structure that was to replace the old state bureaucratic apparatus and take on the task of preserving, and then reinforcing, Pakistani statehood.

Zia ul-Haq very skillfully encourages and directs processes which, at first glance, perhaps, do not facilitate the reinforcement of national unity, but on the other hand emphasize the unifying mission of Islam. It does not trouble him that a dual communalism can emerge in the political arena which has already more than once thrown the country into serious crises. Communalism, in the general's opinion, should also have its purpose. It can be used, for example, as a means to enlist the support of the rightist conservative circles at a necessary moment, as was the case with the Ahmadiya sect (Kapiyani). The members of this influential and economically developed sect believe that Mirza Gulam Ahmad (1835-1908) was a prophet, the same as Mohammed. This conflicts directly with official doctrine, which asserts that there were no prophets after Mohammed. Passions have long raged around this. The Ahmadites also cannot be forgiven for the fact that their "prophet" in his time proclaimed a jihad (holy war) against English rule in India to be a groundless idea, which earned him the gratitude and favor of the English. Since then, the history of the subcontinent has seen many bloody conflicts between the members of this sect and both the Sunni and Shiite Muslims. The clash in Punjab in 1953 was especially resonant, when martial law was imposed for the first time in the years of independence on the territory of the province, as well as in 1974 and 1985. Soon after the formation of the National Assembly, the extreme rightist deputies from the Official Parliamentary Group were able to drag through a draft of a law that declared the Ahmadites non-Muslims. This was the second such document in recent years.<sup>11</sup> It sanctioned, in particular, discrimination against Ahmadites in hiring and the levying of additional taxes on them.

It is obvious from this example that the unifying mission of Islam is quite distinctly understood. The fact a unity can be manifested in the process of conflict among representatives of all provinces is felt to be the main thing and justifies possible deviations in the ethnic aspect of the matter. Communalism is not a purely domestic phenomenon in Pakistan. As part of the political course, it makes itself known in the foreign-policy arena as well.

#### The Foreign Factor

The figures of the current regime miss no chance to show at any time that Pakistan is an independent national whole separate from India and not like it. Anti-Indian sentiments have not weakened, but rather, have perhaps even increased since 1977. Anti-Soviet sentiments have also appeared in connection with the events surrounding Afghanistan. This was facilitated by the influx of a large number of Afghan refugees onto the territory of Pakistan, some of whom, as a result of Western and Pakistani propaganda, are inculcated with a spirit of jihad with regard to the "communist atheists," who supposedly intend to uproot the Islamic traditions and faith everywhere in the world. Zia ul-Haq, during his trip across Sind in 1983, endeavoring to convince the people of the anti-Pakistani thrust of the public-opinion campaign of the province and the speeches demanding the restoration of civilian rule in the country and the granting of autonomy to Sind, declared that the Islamic revolution in Iran and the Islamic renaissance in Pakistan supposedly disturbed the Soviet Union

and forced it to send troops into Afghanistan for the purpose of erecting a barrier to the dissemination of the "Islamic spirit."<sup>12</sup>

The principle of the jihad is treated in an extremely primitive fashion by the ulama in carrying out their propagandistic mission. Depending on the foreign-policy situation, it is interpreted as the necessity of struggle now with Afghanistan, now with the USSR and now with India. In this regard, little has changed compared to the actions of the former military regimes. In the time of Yahya-Khan, the windows of motor vehicles were adorned with the inscription officially approved by Islamabad: "We will smash India!" The reminders of sober politicians that after the fall of Yahya-Khan there appeared other inscriptions on the vehicles--"Military prisoners (Pakistani--author) are a reproach to the conscience of the world"--have no effect. The tone of official propaganda in relation to its neighbors remains sharply hostile, and contacts with them are maintained on the lowest level.

Prejudices and biases accumulated over many decades have created a certain inertia in the mutual relations of Pakistan and India; the government does not make any effort to correct the situation. Even in the sphere of trade, of which both countries are in acute need, no changes are occurring. As soon as some specific positive actions are projected, warnings about the danger of the economic expansionism of Delhi, the "cunning and insidiousness of the Marvari" etc. are heard.

Thus, the practice of permanent jihad, which depending on necessity can be directed in this or that direction from the country's borders, has become a part of the superstructure of modern-day Pakistan. This practice is cultivated in every way possible by the Zia regime and is used by it as an important weapon in the arsenal of existing political weaponry.

In describing the atmosphere established today in Pakistan, many observers note that the conservative ideas of Jama'at-i-Islami theoretician A.A. Maududi, with much in common with the views of the ruling palace of Saudi Arabia, have been especially widely disseminated under the current military regime. The influence of the "revelations" of Maududi are sensed in many of the statements of Zia ul-Haq. This provides grounds for certain representatives of the opposition to accuse Zia ul-Haq that for the first time in Pakistan, the process of "Islamization" is not transpiring according to Islamic laws, but the scenario of Maududi and the Saud dynasty.

\* \* \*

The process of "Islamization" transpiring in Pakistan is nothing other than an effort of the forces in favor of a preservation of the status-quo in the social and political realms to perpetuate their sway and disorganize and render harmless the camp of the champions of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. This is an ancient battle that traces its beginning back to the time of the formation of Pakistan. Judging by the predominant tendencies, it will continue for a long time more. One reason for this is the fact that the very idea of "Islamization" has advocates in Pakistan. The principal body of them is concentrated around the rightist conservative Muslim clergy, which is objectively pushing the country backward into the Middle Ages.

The realities of political life in Pakistan over the course of the existence of the state has little facilitated the formation of a powerful organized force that is in favor of putting the principles of democracy into action. The military has always decisively suppressed any manifestations of a gravitation toward democratic ideals. This includes the current regime to the greatest extent. Opposing sentiments are thus extended from the political sphere into others, especially culture. Representatives of the intelligentsia turn out most often to be connected with speeches against "Islamization."

Many do not like the fact that the current regime is trying to "touch up" history, and to link more or less noteworthy events in the geographic area that Pakistan is now located in with Islam. Serious objections were provoked by the attempts of the powers to rewrite the history of the Indus Valley and to give the impression, for example, that the Harappa civilization or the state of Gandhar never existed. And all of this because they had no relation to Islam. Not everyone approves of the fact that the very word "India" is uttered only when necessary, since it derives from the word Hindu.

Currently in Pakistan it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the struggle for democracy and the restoration of civilian rule from the struggle against the use of Islam by the ruling regime for its own self-seeking purposes. But there is no doubt that this struggle is going on and, moreover, it is increasing and that ever newer social segments, political forces and social organizations are being drawn into it.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents. Lahore, 1977, p 226.
2. Election Manifesto of the Pakistan People's Party. Karachi, 1970, p 13.
5. Dawn. 3 Oct 77.
6. Muslim. 3 May 80.
7. Muslim. 13 Mar 81.
8. Yu.V. Gankovskiy. "Natsionalnyy vopros i natsionalnyye dvizheniya v Pakistane" [The National Question and the National Movement in Pakistan]. Moscow, 1967, pp 163-246.
9. Ataur Rahman. Pakistan: Unity or Further Divisions? In the States of South Asia, Problems of National Integration. London, 1982, pp 200-201.
10. Notwithstanding the later decision that the official party representing the central powers would be the Pakistan Muslim League, which seemingly gave birth to the Jinnah Party in its own image, it was namely the people of the Jama'at-i-Islami and the Muslim League (Pagaro) that comprised the foundation of the new state structure.
11. Ishtiaq Ahmed. The Concept of an Islamic State, an Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan. Stockholm, 1985, p 183.
12. Viewpoint. 28 Apr 83, p 11.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821

CSO: 1807/227

#### NEW BOOKS FROM 'NAUKA' ORIENTAL LITERATURE SECTION PREVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 119-121

[Article by O. K. Dreyer: "Oriental Literature Section of 'Nauka' Publishing House for 1987"]

[Text] The year 1987 is the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened up a new era in the historical development of colonial and dependent people. Many works of academic institutes consider the path traversed by the countries of Asia and Africa over these years and note what is new that is characteristic of the modern era.

The work of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute "The Dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in Africa" will relate the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism. The authors of this collective work--Soviet and African scholars--illuminate the most important problems of modern times: the struggle to unify scientific socialism with the national-liberation movement of the African countries and the role of proletarian internationalism in it; the book critically considers modern bourgeois theories of social development.

The book "Revolutionary Movements and the Imperialist Counterrevolution (1970s and Beginning of the 1980s)" gives a historical-sociological analysis of the revolutionary process in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and uncovers specific features of the struggle of imperialism against the progressive regimes on these continents in our time.

The collective research "The 27th CPSU Congress and Topical Problems of the Economic Development of the Liberated Countries," prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, is exceedingly important. It considers the problems of liberated countries in overcoming economic backwardness, their struggle against neocolonialism and the reinforcement of contacts with the socialist countries. Among the research on problems of the world communist movement, we note the work of I.I. Kovalenko "The Communist Party of Japan. Historical Sketches," in which the author shows the process of the establishment and development of the Japanese Communist Party since its founding in 1922 up to the present day.

The book "October and the Orient," in which the international significance of the initial phase of socialist construction in the Soviet Central-Asian



republics, which to a certain extent anticipated the modern socio-political problems of the liberated countries of the contemporary Orient, has been prepared for publication in English and is devoted to the 70th anniversary of Great October. The monograph of Z.Sh. Gafurov titled "National-Democratic Revolution: Essence, General Laws, Defense of Conquests" is dedicated to the topical problem of the creation and activity of the armed forces of national-democratic revolution.

An important place in the publication plan is occupied by questions of atheism and religion in the countries of Asia and Africa. R.M. Sharipova's book "Pan-Islamism Today" reviews the theory and practice of the World Islamic League--the leading organization in the modern "Islamic solidarity" movement. The handbook "The Religions of the Countries of Southern Asia" by G.A. Shpazhnikov relates the religious situation and religious makeup of the population in the countries of southern Asia. The next book in the "Religion in the 20th Century" series will come out in 1987--"Buddhism," dedicated to the place and role of Buddhism in the modern world, as well as the history of its formation and a review of the foundations for the study of this religion and its varieties (Lamaism, Zen-Buddhism etc.). Work on the next book in this series--"Islam"--will be completed in 1988. The anthology of articles "Socio-Political Concepts in Islam. History and Modern Times" presents a critical analysis of the most important political concepts of Islam, and their effect on the modern social and political concepts around which the sharpest ideological battle is occurring is shown. We expect that the attention of the reader will be attracted to the monograph of Yu.M. Kobishchanov "The History of the Dissemination of Islam in Africa." The work of A.N. Ignatovich seems interesting--"Buddhism in Japan" (a sketch of early history). The book shows the history of the dissemination of Buddhism in the 6th-8th centuries and specific features of Buddhism in Japan that have turned it into a state ideology.

The next volumes of the series "The USSR and the Countries of the Orient" are coming out--the collective works "The USSR and India" and "The USSR and Japan," as well as the monograph of Sh.B. Chimitdorzhiev titled "Russia and Mongolia."

Among the works on the history of the Ancient Orient should be noted the monograph of S. Kuchera "The Prehistoric and Ancient History of China." The research is based on the results of the latest prospecting of PRC archaeologists. A collective of authors has prepared the work "International Relations and Diplomacy in the Ancient Orient." The scholars, based on documents, are reconstructing the unique features of the diplomatic practices of the states of the ancient Orient.

The publication of the book series "On the Trail of Lost Cultures of the Orient" will be continued. Among them are a book by the well-known British researcher M. Boyce called "The Zoroastrians," in which the historical fate of the Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India are traced from their appearance to the present day. The book "Garamantida: Searches and Discoveries" is interesting. It is devoted to the little-known civilization of the Garamants (circa 6th century B.C. to the 7th-8th centuries A.D.) on the territory of the Fetsan oasis. The authors of the sections of the book are British

archaeologist C. Daniels and Sudanese scientist Muhammed Suleiman Awyub. Furthermore, a translation of the book "The Hettis" by the English Hettologist O.R. Henry will be published. In our opinion, an interesting book has been prepared by I.G. Kosikov--"Ethnic Processes in Kampuchea"; it makes broad use of field materials collected by the author during his visit to the country. The book "The Ethnic Development of Australia" by P.V. Puchkov is the first research in Soviet scientific literature on this problem, and it is based on an enormous body of statistical materials. Principal attention is devoted to the intra-ethnic consolidation of the Anglo-Australian nation, the assimilation of various immigrant groups and the ethnic development of Australian aborigines. The "Ethnographic Library" series is coming out with a translation of the book "Culture and the World of Childhood" by the well-known American ethnographer M. Mead that is devoted to the ethnography of childhood, an important direction of research in modern science.

Works on economics are broadly represented in the 1987 plan. I would like to single out the innovative work of B.M. Bolotin and V.L. Sheynis "The Economics of Developing Countries in Figures: Statistical Research Handbook." The book contains composite data on population dynamics and production for 140 countries and territories over 40 years. It also contains the essential scientific apparatus for a continuation of the statistical rows for subsequent years. The book "The Industrialization of the Small Countries of Asia" is substantive. It is topical, as there are many small and medium Asian countries in population terms and their role in regional policies and economics is growing. The work of V.N. Ulyakhin "Petty-Capitalist Enterprise in the Countries of the Orient" reviews the modern state of petty-capitalist enterprise and the social segments associated with it, the process of formation of which has increased sharply in the last 20 years.

"The Development of Capitalism in the Arab World in Modern Times" is the first comprehensive research on the development of capitalism in the Arab countries, in which the place of the society of Arab countries in the world capitalist system is shown and the specific features of their socio-economic structures are revealed.

Several upcoming publications are devoted to research on international relations: the anthologies of articles "The 'Islamic Factor' in International Relations in Asia," "International Relations in Southeast Asia" and "The UN and Problems in Restructuring International Economic Relations." Among works on various problems of the modern world, we note the works of S.M. Gasratyan--"Israel and South Africa: Purposes and Forms of Collaboration," M.N. Amvrosova--"African Policies of the Scandinavian States" and A.G. Knyazev--"Egypt after Nasser."

The reader's attention is diverted by the collective monograph "Recent History of the Arab Countries of Asia (1917-1985)." It is the fruit of lengthy research work by a large collective of Arab scholars, and it makes broad use of the latest research of Soviet and foreign Arab scholars, as well as extensive documentary materials.

The work of L.M. Demin, A.Yu. Drugov and G.I. Chufrin--"Indonesia: General Features, Trends and Prospects for Development"--is, in our opinion, very

interesting. It analyzes the specific features of the economic, political and social evolution of the country over the years of independence. "The Recent History of Kampuchea" gives a broad panorama of the country's development from 1917 to the present day.

The publication of the yearbooks "India," "The PRC," "Japan" and "Africa in Soviet Research" (in English) will be continued; the publication of the yearbook "Soviet Oriental Studies Research" (in English) will begin.

Among works on linguistics and philology, I would single out the latest volumes of the Tibetan-Russian-English dictionary prepared by Yu.N. Rerikh, the original "Systems of Personal Names of the Peoples of the World" and "Tamil Grammar" by M.S. Andronov and the next issues of materials of the joint Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition. The series "Languages of Asia and Africa" (some 125 editions have been published since 1958) will publish the outline of A.N. Aleksakhin "The Hakka Dialect (Chinese)," S.B. Yankiver's "The Guangzhou (Cantonese) Dialect of Chinese," "The Loom Language" (African Languages) by V.F. Vydrin and M.V. Dyachkov's "Creole Languages," as well as a book by the prominent scientist I.M. Dyakonov "Afrazian Languages" (in English).

Among works in literary studies, we cite the work of L.Ye. Cherkasskiy "Russian Literature in the Orient: Theory and Practice of Translation," the collective monograph "The Cultural Legacy of the Peoples of the Orient and the Contemporary Ideological Struggle," the book by P.A. Grintser "Basic Categories of Classical Indian Poetry" and a number of interesting works on foreign folklore. The publication of the next volumes of the series "Epic Literature of the Peoples of the USSR"--the 2nd volume of the Kirghiz epic "Manas" and the national epics of the Komi--will continue. The work contains the next volumes of the Khakassian and Karelian epics. The series "Fables and Myths of the Peoples of the Orient" is planned to include for publication Georgian, Japanese and Kurdish fables. The publication of books of the "Short Stories on the Countries of the Orient" series will continue, as will books of classical and contemporary literature of the Orient.

Our publications are called upon to reflect the restructuring of the work of scientific research institutes which is taking place in accordance with the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821  
CSO: 1807/227

## SECOND SOVIET-AFRICAN CONFERENCE ON PEACE, COOPERATION

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 122-131

[Article by Yu. M. Ilin: "The Second Soviet-African Political-Science Conference 'For Peace, Collaboration and Social Progress'"]

[Text] The Second Soviet-African Political-Science Conference "For Peace, Collaboration and Social Progress" was held 24-26 Jun 86 in Moscow, and about 150 scholars and public figures of the Soviet Union took part in the work of the conference, as did political figures, representatives of ministries and higher educational institutions of many African countries, representatives of the ANC and SWAPO, the African Association of Political Sciences, the International Center for the Study of the Bantu Civilization (SISIBA) and UNESCO, as well as scholars from socialist countries--Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The conference was opened by An. A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on African Problems, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. CPSU Central Committee member and USSR Academy of Sciences Vice President P.N. Fedoseyev welcomed the forum participants in the name of the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He noted that the conference had gathered at a very troubled time, when due to the fault of the aggressive circles of imperialism the international climate had become extremely acute. The motto of the conference—"For Peace, Collaboration and Social Progress"—expresses the main direction of the modern historical process. The positions of the peoples of the USSR and Africa coincide on both the global issues of modern times and on topical problems of the African continent. We decisively condemn, emphasized P.N. Fedoseyev, the counteroffensive that has been unfurled by imperialism against the liberated states based on the territorial concept of "neoglobalism." Soviet society is deeply concerned by the conflicts and crisis situations that are being preserved in various regions of the continent, which are fraught with serious consequences for the peoples of Africa and going far beyond its boundaries. The most difficult economic situation in Africa also evokes growing concern among the Soviet people. The USSR is substantially assisting a number of these countries in overcoming these difficulties. Experience shows that notwithstanding the differences of opinion that occasionally arise between the USSR and individual African countries in evaluating this or that issue, our countries have been and remain



partners in the struggle for peace and social progress and against imperialist policies of dictate and expansion. The understanding of young states of the unchanging fact that political and economic ties with the USSR facilitate a strengthening of their independence is growing.

Discussions of the economic and social development of peoples become pointless without the preservation of peace and the aversion of nuclear war. It is therefore essential to reinforce in every way possible the interaction of the liberated countries and the socialist states and independent Africa and the Soviet Union in the struggle for improvement in international relations and reinforcement of the union of forces of social progress and national liberation.

At the plenary session, An.A. Gromyko presented the report "The Soviet Union and the African Countries in the Struggle for Peace, Collaboration and Social Progress."<sup>1</sup> The paper of A. Ratsifikher, deputy general secretary of the (MICP) [Madagascar Independence Congress Party] and member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, was devoted to an analysis of problems associated with collaboration between countries, the policies of imperialism and the threat to the cause of peace engendered by the activeness of the forces of imperialism and aggression. He stated that a situation in Africa that Madagascar President D. Ratsiraka calls a resurrection of the "diabolical triangle," namely a combination of economic exploitation, political oppression and cultural alienation, is apparent. Even allocating from 30 to 40 percent and more of their foreign-currency export receipts for the servicing of foreign debt, the developing countries are unable to liquidate their indebtedness. If this situation, existing moreover in an atmosphere of "cold war" and aggravated by problems of hunger and ecological difficulties, continues to exist, it will inevitably lead to social upheavals and economic and political destabilization. We therefore feel that the developing countries and the African states, in the struggle for national liberation, independence, sovereignty, development and peace, without refusing to collaborate with other countries, should develop collaboration with their natural allies--the socialist countries, and first of all the Soviet Union. The peaceloving initiatives of the USSR meet the aspirations of the an enormous majority of the peoples of the planet.

The report of USSR Council of Ministers GKES [State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations] Deputy Chairman P.Ya. Koshelev "Soviet-African Economic and Technical Collaboration in the 1980s: Results and Prospects" analyzed the various forms of economic ties of the USSR with the countries of the continent and described their specific features and comprehensive nature along with the collaboration of the USSR in the training of African national personnel. P.Ya. Koshelev noted that the liberated countries of Africa will require no less than 150 billion dollars in the period before the year 2000 in order to raise industrial production and the agro-technical level of agriculture for the purposes of combating drought and developing transport and communications. These funds can only be obtained if the senseless expenditures of material and intellectual wealth for military purposes are halted, both in Africa and worldwide. The USSR is in favor of replacing the principle of "armament instead of development" with the principle of "disarmament for development."

ARE [Arab Republic of Egypt] Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali reviewed the principles that guide Africa in resolving the problems of peace, development and disarmament. The first principle is struggle against colonialism and racism. The second is the peaceful settlement of inter-African conflicts and renunciation of the use of force. The third principle envisages ensuring peace and security within the African community, it is the cause of intra-continental collaboration in the matter of joint struggle against backwardness. In this regard, the speaker described the contribution of Egypt to the improvement of inter-African and Afro-Arab collaboration. The fourth principle is the policy of non-alignment, which is expressed in the fact that the African countries not only refrain from taking sides in the "cold war," but from granting military bases to any state that belongs to one or the other camp. The fifth principle regulating the relations of Africa with the world community consists of facilitating the reinforcement of the UN and not retiring from the overall course of human progress.

The paper of USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.B. Starushenko "Problems of the Struggle against Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism in Southern Africa" noted that the racist regime in South Africa concentrates the worst features typical of capitalism as a stage of imperialism. It is therefore historically doomed. This regime unnaturally combines colonialism and racism in the form of apartheid, two institutions that, like slavery, are rejected and placed outside legality in all states. It is thus an anomaly and should be eliminated immediately. On the question of how and using what means to do this, a sustained struggle is being waged in the international arena and in South Africa itself. The resolution of internal tasks of the liberation struggle is the sovereign right of the people and its parties. A process of formation of a revolutionary situation is continuing in South Africa. The principal participants in the demonstrations are the student youth and the unemployed. The South African working class, possessing enormous revolutionary potential, has still not used it to the fullest extent. The task of further expanding the participation of the proletariat in the liberation struggle will be resolved sooner if the collaboration of the South African Communist Party (SACP) with the other anti-racist forces becomes closer. A most important step in establishing a lasting peace on the continent is the eradication of the system of apartheid. A settlement in South Africa will undoubtedly facilitate a reinforcement of universal peace and the security of peoples.

S. Viyeyra, a member of the Central Committee of the FRELIMO Party and Minister of Security of the People's Republic of Mozambique, emphasized in his paper that the development of events in recent years testifies to an increase in the military threat both in the southern part of Africa and in the world. The peoples of Africa want to halt the escalating violence in the region and turn it into a region where relations of harmony and collaboration in the interests of progress can exist. The speaker condemned the policies of the United States in South Africa; its actions encourage organized terrorism and worsen the climate of violence in the region. Many representatives of the white population--the "Afrikaans," the principal bulwark of the regime--also condemn the system of apartheid. With high regard the policies of the USSR in relation to the south of Africa, S. Viyeyra described them as policies of

active solidarity with the "front-line" states and national-liberation movements. The People's Republic of Mozambique, he emphasized, notes with satisfaction the strengthening fraternal relations of friendship and collaboration in all spheres with its Soviet ally. The paper of SISIBA Assistant Director Innocent Moiz Ruragvo devoted principal attention to the activities of that organization and its international contacts.

The work of the conference took place in sections where over 200 presentations were heard. The "USSR and Africa in the Struggle for Peace and International Security" section (co-chairmen A.M. Vasilyev of the USSR and Tefesse-Uork Vandimu of Ethiopia) discussed the issues of the "neoglobalism" of the United States as a new form of imperialist expansion, military bases and the arms race as factors in the increase in international tensions and destabilization of regional security, the struggle of the African peoples for peace and security and against the arms race and the threat of nuclear war, international terrorism and its danger for the cause of peace and the stability of international relations, the OAU as a factor for reinforcing stability on the African continent, Soviet and African approaches to regional conflicts in Africa and Africa and the problem of security in the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean.

A.M. Vasilyev described the significance of the peaceful initiatives that the USSR has recently advanced for the present and future of the African continent. A number of presentations were devoted to an analysis of various aspects of the concept of "neoglobalism" as a new and exceedingly dangerous form of imperialist expansion. L.I. Medvedko (USSR) noted that "neoglobalism" is manifested not only in the struggle of imperialism against the world socialist system, but also in the struggle against the national-liberation movement, the suppression of progressive forces and the support and reinforcement of regimes friendly to the United States. The speaker described the means and methods of the new American strategy, including the psychological treatment of the peoples of the Afro-Asian countries. J. Parys (Poland) also indicated the close link of the "neoglobalism" of the United States and the problems of security of the developing countries, noting therein that under the contrived pretext of a struggle against "growth in Soviet influence," the United States is taking steps to reinforce the reactionary regimes in those countries. Muhammed al-Tahir al-Jerari, general director of the Center for Libyan Studies (Libyan Jamahiria), emphasized that the policy of "neoglobalism" is a manifestation of modern militarism in its most aggressive form. No African country can guarantee that it will not become the target of the next American aggression. The presentation of N.I. Vysotskaya (USSR) was devoted to a review of African aspects of the concept of "neoglobalism," and she noted that within the framework of the general strategy, the United States has created a doctrine of "pro-American Africa," which envisages not only aggressive actions and the tactics of forceful methods, but undermining the traditional socio-economic and trade positions of the former colonial states and intrigues of pro-American allies on the African continent as well. The United States is becoming more and more a part of the inter-imperialist struggle for influence in Africa.

V.Ya. Lebedev (USSR) dwelled on questions of the military strategy of imperialism in Africa.



The arms race embraces both world social systems, and its negative consequences have an effect on the economies of both capitalist and socialist countries. The glaring injustice, however, in the conviction of Sh.M. Zholiker (Seychelles), is the attempt to place responsibility for this on both sides, since it is widely known that the initiative for the creation and production of new types of strategic weaponry never issues from the countries of the world socialist system, which are forced to increase military spending in order to ensure their own security and sovereignty in the face of imperialist threats. Habtamu Vandemu (Ethiopia) spoke of the vital necessity of the struggle of the African peoples against the arms race. Hali Zamiti (Tunisia) directed attention to the fact that the use of funds intended for military purposes for the economic development of Afro-Asian countries runs up against a serious obstacle associated with the integration of these countries into the world capitalist system. An analysis of the ideological aspect of "neoglobalism" was given in the presentation of S.S. Kozitskiy (USSR), who emphasized the aggressive nature of the doctrine of the neoglobalists, based on the right of the United States to interfere in the affairs of the developing countries, justified by their striving for hegemony on a global scale and propagating the permissibility of "wars of small intensiveness."

The speakers directed much attention to a review of international terrorism as a component of the policy of "neoglobalism." Boutros Ghali described the specific manifestations of state terrorism in relation to Africa. Kadura Belgasem (Algeria) noted that state terrorism is a new element in international relations, leading to the appearance of crisis situations. In an international-law aspect, state terrorism is a crime, and a principal weapon used to destabilize democratic regimes and international relations, as I.P. Blishchenko (USSR) emphasized. Expressing a presumption of the possibility an expansion of the state terrorism of the United States in the future, S.A. Slipchenko (USSR) pointed out that the U.S. State Department has created a special subdivision whose mission includes preparing reasoning to justify possible aggressive acts of the United States. SWAPO Central Committee Candidate Member O. Emvula noted that the forces of imperialism are giving increasing aid to the South African government, without which it would be unable to wage the struggle against the strengthening national-liberation forces. I.V. Sledzevskiy (USSR) pointed out the close link between the problems of international security and the problems of the development of African countries, emphasizing that in the 1980s a disruption of the reproduction mechanism of the African countries within the framework of the world capitalist economic system has coincided with a general worsening of the international climate and the arms race. The process of the militarization of many African countries and the worsening of conflict situations on the continent, indivisible from the growth in international tensions, are creating a direct threat to the further economic and social development of Africa. J. Sachs (GDR) noted that an understanding of the fact that the defense of peace and security is a decisive precondition for any development process is increasing in the African countries.

In the general opinion of the section participants, the lack of guaranteed peace and stability on the African continent is the chief obstacle to economic and social progress for the countries located there. Some differences of



opinion also were revealed in the treatment of the causes of the tensions existing in Africa. A. Sidka (Egypt), acknowledging the ruinous nature of the arms race for the African countries, is of the opinion that the security and independence of the countries of Africa, including Egypt, are threatened by the worsening confrontation between the "superpowers" and the policies of the military-political blocs. The intervention of several non-African countries in regional conflicts under conditions of a worsening of the confrontation between East and West is fraught with danger for the escalation of local conflicts into the arena of confrontation between East and West.

Many African conference participants condemned the policies of South Africa in that part of the continent. Domingos da Cros (Angola) feels that the South African leaders are evading signing the agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which alarms the "front-line" states. In his opinion, it is not enough simply to condemn the militarism of South Africa, and specific collective actions and effective struggle against the increase of South African military potential, as well as the aggressive plans of the United States in relation to the peoples of Africa, are needed. Seku Kamara (Guinea) condemned the policies of Washington. Ghanaian representative L. Ajetey said that in Africa itself, unfortunately, the organization of forums like the conference is not a practice, and they are moreover extremely necessary to define a program of specific actions. J.A. Lazarev (Czechoslovakia) noted that while in Western countries the public is the leading force in the antiwar movement, in Africa, where a trend toward growth in the antiwar movement has been observed since the beginning of the 1980s, the peaceloving states of the continent themselves and the OAU are that force today. In the opinion of O. Emvula, there exist considerable unutilized reserves in Africa for expanding the antiwar struggle. Africa is still a "sleeping continent," the overwhelming body of which has not yet become aware of the threat of nuclear war hanging over them. Much work is needed to include the broad masses of the African population in the struggle against imperialism, racism, apartheid and nuclear war. Z.I. Tokareva (Czechoslovakia) related the activities of the OAU and its increasing activeness in the struggle for universal peace.

A number of presentations described the situation in North Africa and the countries of the Magrib. Kadir Belgasem and I. Alaui (Morocco) emphasized that northern Africa is constantly threatened by aggression on the part of Israel and that recent events testify to the activation of the United States--Israel--South Africa axis that is striving to destabilize the situation north and south of the Sahara. Imperialism is trying to keep the countries of the Magrib under its control, inflame hostility among their peoples and make use of the contradictions among the countries of the region in its own interests. The unresolved nature of the West Saharan problem facilitates an increase in imperialist influence in the Magrib. All forces should be applied to bring to life the spirit of self-determination of the population of the West Sahara in a spirit of brotherhood and in the common interest of all parties.

V.S. Kopin (USSR) described the worsening of the situation in the Mediterranean. A.A. Tkachenko (USSR), noting that the conflicts in Africa have their own specific nature, proposed the creation of an African Peace

Institute (or African Institute for the Study of International and Regional Conflicts) for studying the causes of conflicts, seeking ways of resolving them and arranging collaboration at the regional level.

The work of the "Regional Problems of the African Continent" section (co-chaired by L.V. Goncharov of the USSR, Ibragim Akhbooka Gambari of Nigeria and A. Mujaju of Uganda) was devoted to a review of economic, social, political, ideological and cultural problems in African development. L.V. Goncharov presented the paper "Africa of the 1980s: Critical State and Urgent Problems of Economics." He noted that it is still impossible to give definitive answers to a number of questions, and a deep analysis of new facts, statistical data and new trends is essential. These problems include: the multi-institutional nature of former colonies and its role in the struggle between capitalist trends of development and socialist orientation, changes in the role of the African countries in the international division of labor, new forms of their dependency under conditions of worldwide scientific and technical revolution and a deepening of the process of internationalization of world capitalist production, the possibility of using foreign capital in the cause of economic development of former colonies, and a development strategy that meets the task of most rapidly overcoming their economic backwardness. The most important socio-economic tasks before the African countries are overcoming backwardness, eliminating economic dependence on imperialism and developing mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technical collaboration with the socialist countries.

The problems of overcoming economic backwardness in the African countries, said L.V. Goncharov in conclusion, cannot be considered apart from general problems of world development. They should be resolved in close conjunction with such urgent problems as a general improvement of the world climate, a reduction of the arms race on Earth and its aversion in space, a reduction in military danger and the establishment of trust as an integral component of relations among states.

Crucial problems of economic development, and first and foremost the discovery of the causes, parameters and consequences of the crisis gripping Africa and a search for ways to overcome it, were at the center of discussion. G.I. Rubinshteyn and Ye. M. Medvedkova (both from the USSR) presented a forecast of several development trends in the economies and foreign trade of the African countries. In their opinion, it can be anticipated that the 1980s will be a decade of even lower rates of economic growth; the principal efforts of the African states will be aimed at resolving the food problem; economic differentiation will deepen, and moreover those countries whose ruling circles are able to master the principal levers for managing the economy and to conduct rational economic policies will be in the best position. This will force a limitation on imports, giving preference to the import of equipment for the modernization of existing enterprises, irrigation and the processing of agricultural raw materials.

The theme of crisis in the African countries was developed in the presentations of V.D. Shchetinin, Yu.M. Osipov and V.S. Savchuk (all of the USSR), who consider the foreign indebtedness of these countries an important factor in the increase in economic dependence, as a most acute international

problem and as a manifestation of crisis in the relations between the developed capitalist countries and the developing ones. Their point of view was supported by I. Gambari, who emphasized that the "debt crisis" was caused by a general change in the international currency situation and that in this regard the IMF has in its activity come to be guided by its own political directives without regard for the conditions of Africa.

V.N. Levkovskiy, A.I. Rogich and G.Ye. Roshchin (all of the USSR) pointed out that foreign capital disorganizes economic life, shifts cyclical disorders of the world capitalist centers into African countries, has a negative effect on the reproduction of manpower, causes a massive outflow of profits and in that manner destabilizes the reproduction process overall, aggravates the differentiation of the African countries and strengthens social inequality in them. In the opinion of M.S. Ochkov (USSR), trade and economic interests have the upper hand in American policies on the continent. This is explained by the growing dependence of the U.S. economy on imported fuels and raw materials and the prospects for deepening world energy and materials crises, as a result of which Africa can become an important objective of the capital investments of American multinational corporations. B.B. Runov (USSR) described long-term trends of economic development in the African countries, largely determined by the cardinal shifts in the development of world productive forces entailed by scientific and technical revolution. G.V. Smirnov (USSR) reported to section participants on the meeting of Soviet and American scholars dedicated to problems of African development that was held at Berkeley (United States) in 1986. In his words, the American participants in the meeting asserted that the Africans are unable to provide for economic progress and plan their own economies. Mohammed Abdel-Gani Saudi (Egypt) noted the great significance of inter-African economic collaboration, which is encountering great difficulties. Surmounting them depends to a decisive extent on the African states themselves, which must put an end to political conflicts and internal discord, as well as create a developed transport and communications network on the continent. Zh. Njuyende (Cameroon) spoke in favor of establishing a new world economic order. In his opinion, it is necessary to demand of the West that they extend the loans, open up their markets for the sale of industrial goods from the liberated countries and support fair prices for raw materials exports. J. Vrla (Czechoslovakia) pointed this out as well.

V.K. Vigand, V.L. Kerov and G.N. Klimko (all of the USSR) and others feel that one of the principal conditions for overcoming the crisis is raising the role of the state in all realms of economic life. The affirmation of the key positions of the state sector in the sphere of production is an essential condition for winning economic independence. G.N. Klimko noted that the problem of raising the economic efficiency of the state sector has today moved to the center of the ideological struggle in the liberated countries of Africa and the international arena. The low profitability or lack of profitability of the state sector in many African countries testifies not to "inborn" losses and unsuitability for the region, but just to the lack of promise of its development in the interests of private capital, as well as the necessity of active struggle for the transformation of unequal and exploitative economic relations in the world capitalist economy to a fair and democratic basis. In the opinion of I. Alau, the curtailment of the state sector proposed by the West runs counter to the interests of the African countries.



Considering the specific features of the development of capitalism in Africa, N.S. Babintseva, N.I. Gavrilov (both of the USSR) and others singled out such typical features as the incomplete nature of the process of its consolidation as a leading institution, the dragged-out and isolated nature of the process of initial accumulation, the relative isolation of state capitalism, Oriental-despotic features etc. M.K. Petrov (USSR), in analyzing the influence of multinational corporations on the establishment of national capitalism in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa developing on the capitalist path, has concluded that the rivalry and partnership of national and foreign enterprise leads to the formation of more stable forms of capitalist-oriented development. The capitalist path itself, however, limits the possibilities for the efficient construction of the national economy.

The participants in the discussion devoted much attention to questions of the worsening food situation in Africa. R.L. Valentin (USSR) stressed that the situation in the region is chiefly associated with the distorted and unequal division of labor within the framework of the world capitalist economy, the injurious nature of agrobusiness, the undeveloped nature of the productive forces of the young states and the anachronistic nature of their agrarian relations. P.I. Kupriyanov (USSR) considered the food problem based on the example of Nigeria. Half-measures of a scientific and technical nature or food injections from without, the discussion participants noted, are inadequate to solve the food problem in the African countries. Deep social, economic and political transformations, a liberation from the imperialist yoke, a restructuring of international economic relations on a just democratic basis and the overcoming of the backwardness left from the colonial era are needed. In this regard, Ye.A. Adamstskaya (USSR) pointed out the particular importance of radical agrarian transformations.

The presentations of Soviet scholars A. Lashetynskaya and Kh. Usarov, representing Central Asia, diverted the attention of the audience to the experience of the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. V.V. Lopatov, Yu.V. Gusev, V.P. Reshetnyak, Ye.G. Ishchenko, G.M. Galimov and E.M. Fazelyanov (all of the USSR) touched on problems in improving the collaboration of the USSR with the African states; prospects for Soviet-African relations in light of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Collaboration of the States of the Socialist Community to the Year 2000, adopted within the framework of CEMA in 1980; the significance of the Soviet economic policy of accelerating the development of nuclear power for additional opportunities for expanding scientific research and the resource base of nuclear power in the African countries; collaboration in developing biotechnology, which opens up possibilities for solving such urgent African problems as averting and treating serious illnesses, increasing food resources, raising the supply of raw materials to the economy, assimilating new power sources etc.; the efficient utilization of forms of productive cooperation of the CEMA member countries in the delivery of integrated equipment to Africa and the further extension of long-term credits for the creation of import-replacing types of production; assistance in the mechanization of agricultural production; the development of collaboration in agriculture on a compensatory basis; and the rendering of assistance to African countries in the development and realization of comprehensive programs



for the rational utilization of water resources and their protection from pollution.

A.M. Tishchenko (USSR) expressed a number of ideas associated with the problem of energy supply in the African village. Z.S. Novikova (USSR) reported on problems in the development of transport on the continent.

Concluding the discussion of economic and socio-economic problems, Burundi representative V. Sikhingerezhe stated that these problems can be resolved efficaciously when a peace without arms is created, a peace in which every people would obtain the opportunity of independently choosing a path of development and way of life for itself.

The review of social problems in the section began with the presentation of L.D. Yablochkov (USSR), who, describing the considerable progress in social development in the countries of northern, sub-Saharan and southern Africa, noted that the social picture in Africa overall is exceedingly confused, and it is complicated by multi-institutionality, ethnic scattering and the diverse effects of European civilization. A number of presentations gave an evaluation of the situation of classes and social segments in Africa (M.I. Braginskiy, USSR), an analysis of the socio-political situation in Ghana, where a powerful bureaucratic apparatus has been created (J. Parys), social transformations in the countries of the continent were reviewed (K. Merdel, GDR), such a cause for many of the difficulties in Africa as the destruction of the indigenous traditional way of life was pointed out (Oswald T. Ndanga, Zimbabwe) and the idea of the need to coordinate theoretical research on ways of developing African society was expressed (I. Marton, Hungary). The paper of N.D. Kosukhin (USSR) was dedicated to an analysis of ideological trends in Africa. He noted that the ideological situation in the 1980s in the Afro-Asian countries is expressed in a strengthening of anti-colonial tendencies and anti-Americanism, and reflects a crisis of bourgeois concepts of development. Growth in the influence and dissemination of the ideology of scientific socialism is determined today not only by the attractiveness of the ideas of Marxism themselves, but a regard for the experience of their realization in the world socialist system. A.N. Moseyko (USSR) described the role of the human factor in modern Africa, the concept of the "popular masses" and the purpose of organized influence on the consciousness of the masses, which is extremely important for resolving tasks of national construction. The theoretical tenets advanced by Soviet scholars were supported in the presentations of the representatives of a number of African countries. A. Ratsifikhera, having noted a strengthening of anti-imperialistic and anti-communist propaganda in Madagascar, indicated the necessity of contacts between the scholars and political figures of the USSR and Madagascar in order to organize a rebuff to this propaganda. He included among the possible aspects of such collaboration the development of the problems of turning the Indian Ocean into a peace zone and solving the problem of southern Africa. F. Rajauson (Madagascar) noted that decolonization is playing a significant role in all realms of social life, and the realization of three principles is essential for its success: democratization, decentralization and "Malagasyation" of education. Simao Suinbula (SISIBA) expressed the opinion that it is essential, with regard to the offensive of imperialism, to unmask imperialist propaganda and to study problems in the development of national

self-awareness. R.N. Ismagilova (USSR) pointed out the fact that ethno-cultural processes are determined by the nature of the socio-economic and political development of society and in turn have an effect on that development. In modern Africa today, these processes are associated with various aspects of national and cultural construction, called upon to put an end to backwardness in the sphere of culture, inter-tribal hostility and conflicts and separatist tendencies and movements, and to cultivate a new person--a citizen of one's country.

It was noted at a session of the section that culture is a sphere of struggle of progressive and reactionary forces both within and without this or that country. The cultural contacts of Africa after achieving independence have acquired a multifaceted but not always equal nature. This is explained namely by the attempts of progressive African society to establish a new order not only in the sphere of economics, but the spheres of culture and information as well. An analysis of the complex ethno-cultural processes in Africa permitted the discussion participants to formulate several proposals that could facilitate the solution of these problems on a democratic basis.

The work of the "Struggle against Racism, Apartheid, Colonialism and Neocolonialism" section (co-chaired by Ye.A. Tarabrin of the USSR and S. Viyeyra) opened with introductory words by Ye.A. Tarabrin, who proposed consideration of three sets of problems: internal problems of South Africa and of the southern African region, including the confrontation between racist South Africa and the neighboring countries; the evolution of the foreign policies of the "front-line" states; and, southern Africa and the global system of international relations (imperialist support of apartheid and the strengthening of opposition to it on the part of the OAU, the UN, the non-aligned movement, the socialist countries and broad world opinion).

South Africa ANC representative J. Marishani analyzed the sequence of events in the anti-racist struggle in South Africa and the altered balance of forces within the country: the regime is now on the defensive and relies on the use of force to bring the people into obedience, which signifies the failure of the "cosmetic" reforms of President Botha. A. Mujaju, Aminu Hussein (Ethiopia), S. Viyeyra, Ye.A. Tarabrin, S. Nedkov (Bulgaria) and P. Akbor-Tabi (Cameroon) also spoke during the discussion. They described the role of the ANC in the struggle in southern Africa and the activity of a number of other organizations and reviewed the program of struggle of the ANC, which envisages the accomplishment of two requirements essential for building a democratic South Africa: elimination of the absolute dictatorship of the whites and liquidation of apartheid--its morality and practices, i.e. the creation of various opportunities for all racial and ethnic groups and every individual. Much attention was devoted to analyzing the relationships of class forces in South Africa and the positions of various social groups in relation to the apartheid regime. I.A. Demkina (USSR) described the class basis of political parties among the black population, and first and foremost the ANC and the ODF (the legal arm of the ANC), and their evolution. Many section participants expressed the thought that a strengthening of the national-liberation struggle will depend largely on the realization of the revolutionary potential of the South African proletariat. An analysis of the transformation of apartheid from the economic point of view was made by Yu.S. Skubko (USSR). A.S.

Pokrovskiy (USSR) pointed out the close link of South African capital with the foreign bourgeoisie, especially multinational corporations. The presentation of L.N. Rytov (USSR) was devoted to the situation in the Bantu nations.

A discussion of relations between South Africa and the neighboring countries, which are considered to be closely linked to the crisis within South Africa, occupied an especial place in the work of the section. The acts of aggression of the Pretoria regime against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana and Zambia were unanimously condemned. The problem of Namibia was considered in the general context of the situation in the southern African region. A.V. Pritvorov (USSR) directed attention to the forms of economic exploitation of Namibia, which is used by the South African government for the artificial creation of trade dependence, which will be a heavy burden for the country after the achievement of independence. Yu.I. Gorbunov (USSR) described the neocolonialist maneuverings of the South African government in Namibia. SWAPO Central Committee member and UN Institute for Namibia Director Hage Geyngob pointed out the link of the struggle against racism and apartheid with the struggle against the neocolonialist policies of imperialism. A. Hussein analyzed the role and place of South Africa in the theory and practice of the doctrine of "neoglobalism." Armando Entralgo, director of the Cuban Center for the Study of Africa and the Near East, described the position of Cuba in relation to South Africa and set forth the principles envisaging the support for the struggle of Africans for national independence, against colonialism and racism and for the elimination of the racist regime in South Africa, as well as the assistance for the struggle that is being waged by the ANC and SWAPO. Haroub Otkhman, director of the Development Institute of Dar-es-Salaam University, emphasized that crisis phenomena in economics, which have weakened the young independent states of Africa, have objectively hindered the further advance of the national-liberation revolution. The chief factors that are causing uncertainty and restraint in the modern political policy of some "front-line" states are their weakness on an economic plane, as well as the remaining close trade and economic ties with South Africa. J. Marishani, discussing the military alliance of South Africa and Israel, pointed out the general features in the ideologies of the ruling circles in both countries. A. Mujaju posed the question of the specific contribution of all African countries to the process of accelerating the liberation struggle in southern Africa, insofar as the potential of each country taken individually (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, for example) is insufficient for effective opposition to the might of South Africa in military and economic regards. The necessity of a unity of action of African countries and a combination of their efforts in the struggle against racism and apartheid is therefore becoming vital. The presentations of M.L. Vishnevskiy and T.N. Tupova (both of the USSR) analyzed the specific features of the "constructive engagement" policy of the United States and South Africa and its effect on the situation in the southern African region. M.N. Amvrosova (USSR) described the policies conducted by the Socialist International in relation to Africa, particularly the southern part of the continent. N.V. Kukushkin (USSR) demonstrated the significance of Afro-Arab solidarity in the struggle against racism and apartheid in South Africa. I.V. Volkova (USSR) pointed out the fact that the policies of Japan in relation to the racist regime in South Africa are characterized by a lack of coincidence between the official policies of Tokyo and the activity of Japanese monopolies in southern Africa. Representatives of the ANC,



Mozambique and Ethiopia gave critiques of Japanese policies in southern Africa.

T.L. Deych (USSR) devoted her presentation to an analysis of Chinese policies in the southern part of the continent. China decisively condemns the policy of apartheid today, has halted all contacts with groups of the UNITA type and supports the liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa. An analysis of the policies of France in southern Africa was given by B.M. Kolker (USSR). S. Viyeyra feels that there can be no single opinion regarding South African relations with the West. Some former mother countries, not wishing to cede their positions in Africa to the United States, are in contradiction with it. Ye.A. Tarabrin proposes that all versions of the policies of the Western states are trying to halt the revolutionary process in South Africa and to direct it into a channel acceptable to them.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Ye.A. Tarabrin noted that a unity of views and evaluations exists among the Soviet and foreign participants in the work of the section on the principal questions that were discussed. At the same time, a broad spectrum of points of view that differed from one another in this or that specific aspect of the situation in southern Africa was expressed. The ambassador of Zimbabwe to the USSR, Oswald T. Ndanga, stressed that a candid and fruitful discussion had unfolded in the section.

Among those appearing at the concluding plenary session of the conference with reports were G. Meebelo, member of parliament of the Republic of Zambia and minister of presidential affairs; Tafesse Uorku Vandemu, a sector chief of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia; Kofi Djin, secretary for tourism and trade of the Republic of Ghana; and Professor A. Mujaju of the University of Makerere of the Republic of Uganda.

Reports on the work of the sections were made by their co-chairmen from the USSR, A.M. Vasilyev, L.V. Goncharov and Ye.A. Tarabrin. An.A. Gromyko spoke a parting word to the session, noting that the conference had made a definite positive contribution to the common struggle of peoples for the preservation of peace and the reinforcement of international security and had demonstrated the deep vested interest of all of its participants in further reinforcing Soviet-African friendship and the development of multilateral collaboration, as well as the support of the African participants in the conference for the peaceloving policies of the Soviet state and its foreign-policy initiatives.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. The principal proposals of the paper are set forth in an article by An.A. Gromyko in this issue of the journal.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821  
CSO: 1807/227



YEARLY COLLECTION OF ARTICLES TO BE PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 148-149

[Unattributed article: "Publication of the Anthology 'Soviet Oriental Studies Research'"]

[Text] At the end of 1986, the Oriental Literature Editorial Board of Nauka Publishing House began publication of annual anthologies in English under the title of "Soviet Oriental Studies Research." The anthologies will include translations of articles published on the pages of the journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in recent years. The series will include primarily materials concerning the countries of Asia, insofar as an analogous yearly is already published by the Africanists.

The regular publication of anthologies will ease the familiarization of the foreign academic community with the large volume of work in the study of the past and present of the countries of the Orient that is being done in the Soviet Union.

At the center of attention of the authors and compilers of the series will be two groups of problems--methodological and topical-scientific--which will correspond to the chief directions of scientific inquiry among Soviet scholars. In the realm of methodology, the principal task is to make more concrete the Marxist dialectical-materialistic method with regard to Oriental studies and to develop approaches, methods and techniques for studying Oriental societies. The very nature of these societies, the insufficient computation of elements of the basis and superstructure and the incompleteness of processes of class formation presuppose a synthesis of the results of the efforts of specialists of various types, a comprehensive systemic approach oriented toward revealing the integrity of the object of study and reducing its elements and contacts into a unified dynamic model.

In the realm of topical-scientific problems, articles on the most topical issues of contemporary Oriental studies will occupy an important place. Questions of the military presence of imperialism in the Asian Pacific region, for example, and the genesis and development of armed conflicts are exceedingly significant. Constant attention will be devoted to the processes of socio-political development of the Oriental countries of differing socio-economic orientations, problems of their economic growth, its influence on

changes in the social structure of society, the position of various segments of the population, the activity of various political institutions etc. Problems of modernization and traditionalism and topics that overlap various disciplines--textual study and political economy, religious studies and law, linguistics and history, literary studies and social psychology--are of considerable interest.

Topics relating to the pre-colonial and colonial past of the countries of Asia, research on the social structure of Eastern societies before the era of colonial seizures, problems of the influence of colonialism on the course of their economic, social, political and cultural development and the origin of national-liberation forces will all be illuminated. Various trends in the social and political thought of the countries of the Orient--renewalist, reformist and revolutionary--will not remain unnoticed, along with the history of Oriental studies in our country and the description of the life and activity of leading figures in the Eastern countries. The structure of the journal will basically be preserved in the anthologies. It will include discussional rubrics--"Discussions," "Roundtables," "Comment, Response, Debate"--as well as "Features" and informational materials on the most significant scholarly functions.

In the first two anthologies, the reader will be offered articles and materials of a more general nature. In subsequent issues, some specific national-studies research and discussional materials will be published.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821  
CSO: 1807/227

#### BOOK ON MODERN, TRADITIONAL IN EASTERN SOCIETIES DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian Number 1, January-February 1987 carries on pages 154-186 the first part of a discussion of a 1984 book, "The Evolution of Eastern Societies: Synthesis of the Traditional and the Contemporary". Participants included V.I. Sheynis from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO); Ye.S. Popov from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement (IMRD); A.I. Fursov from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences (INION); V.V. Makarenko from Moscow; V.B. Menshikov from the Nauka Publishing House Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature; O.Ye. Nepomnin from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies (IV); and M.A. Barg from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History (IVI). The concluding section of the discussion will be published in issue Number 2 of this journal.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

CSO: 1807/227

# BOOK ON SHINTO AS JAPAN'S STATE, POLITICAL RELIGION REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 197-200

[Review by I.A. Latyshev of book "Put bogov. (Sinto v istorii Yaponii)" [Path of the Gods. (Shinto in the History of Japan)] by G.Ye. Svetlov. Moscow, Mysl Publishing House, 1985, 240 pp, 8 illus. plates]

[Excerpts] This book is the first historical outline in Soviet scholarly literature of the history and contemporary situation of the Japanese national religion of Shinto. It also illuminates such important questions as the place of religion overall and of Shinto in particular in the life of the individual and the social and political life of contemporary Japan, the specific nature of the attitudes of the Japanese toward Shinto, the formation of Japanese religious tradition, Shinto mythology, its rituals, temples, clergy, the interaction of Shinto with Buddhism and other religious trends introduced from abroad, Shinto dogma, the appearance of new religious movements based on it that enjoy popularity in the present day as well and the like. Naturally, Svetlov's book has no pretense to an equally detailed and deep review of all of the cited themes, each of which merits independent research. The author sets himself a more limited but at the same time extremely important and topical task: along with an analysis of the specific features of Shinto as a national religion, to uncover why, even in the not-so-distant past—the period between the bourgeois revolution of 1867-1868 and the defeat of Japan in the Second World War—the ruling circles of the country were able to make use of Shinto to cultivate chauvinistic conceptions of the "uniqueness" and "special predestination" of the Japanese nation, and why today reactionary forces are once again appealing to Shinto "spiritual values." In answering these questions, the author researches Shinto in conjunction with the history of Japan, and traces the path of many centuries of the establishment and development of this national religious tradition from its origins to the present.

The task of unmasking the chauvinistic concepts of the "exclusiveness" of Japan, founded to a considerable extent on Shinto ideology, determines the selection of materials and the arrangement of the principal accents in the book. In analyzing Shinto mythology, Svetlov directs attention first and foremost to the nature of the arrangement and selection of myths by various clans in the mythological manuscript codes "Kodziki" and "Nihon seki," composed at the behest of the rulers of the country, the purpose of which was



to provide grounds for the "sacred" right of the ruling house of Yamato to power. He emphasizes that the compilation of these mythological manuscripts "completed the process of creating a state myth that provided grounding for the religious and political prestige of the ruling family" (pp 37-38). The book notes that the myths contained in the "Kodziki" and the "Nihon seki" and the text of these ancient literary texts itself reflect the process of interaction of local beliefs and foreign borrowings, especially from Chinese natural philosophy and Taoism. This approach is determined by the fact that "apologists for Japanese nationalism have repeatedly appealed to the documents under consideration, especially the 'Kodziki,' as the incarnation of all that is truly Japanese and pure of any alien impurities, and therefore most fully reflecting the 'Japanese national spirit'" (p 31).

The views of Confucian scholars and adherents of the school of "resurrection of the Shinto of antiquity," who appeared long before the overthrow of the shogun Tokugawa by apologists for the "imperial path," correspondingly modified and modernized, were at the basis of the dogma of state Shinto--a religious and political system created by the ruling circles of the monarchist bourgeois landowning state, which is what Japan became after the revolution of 1867-1868. The most extensive portion of the book is devoted to state Shinto, and it is saturated with rich factual and documentary material. It is of especial interest, the more so as many historical episodes, processes and circumstances that accompanied the transformation of Shinto into a state cult have not yet been illuminated in Soviet Japan-studies literature. The discussion concerns the specific religion whose dogmatic basis was a "political doctrine that expressed the interests of the ruling circles of the country and ideologically grounded their political state" (p 176). In point of fact, it is difficult to imagine a closer intertwining of religion and politics than that which existed in pre-war Japan. The ceremonial garments of Shinto were in essence filled with a new content. Its dogma was not formulated by professional theologians, but "passed down from above" by government officials, most often in the form of documents promulgated in the name of the emperor. It is therefore no accident that the imperial rescript of 1890 on education that proclaimed the worship of the deified emperor as the supreme virtue of the subjects of Japan played the role of a canon of state Shinto.

At the same time, the book demonstrates convincingly that state Shinto, being a new religion in the fullest sense of the word, served the immediate political interests of the militarist rulers of the country, and was at the same time the product of an artificial adaptation of Japanese national traditions to their political needs. As opposed to the ideology of Nazism in Germany or fascism in Italy, which had little in common with the cultural legacies of the peoples of those countries, state Shinto seemingly grew out of the religious concepts and traditions of the Japanese people. The cult of the emperor was thus constructed basically on the cult of the ancestors and the concept of filial respect, important elements of national tradition. Only in this case, the cult of ancestors was reduced to the cult of Amaterasu--the divine primogenitor of the emperors--while the concept of filial respect was elevated to the category of state morality, according to which the subjects of the Japanese empire were required to revere the emperor as their own father. Concepts of the "divine" origin of Japan and the Japanese and the indissoluble

link between the gods and the people arising from Shinto mythology were used as the basis of the theory of the "unique (Japanese) national essence," as the author treats the concept of "kokutay," which comprises the core of the dogma of state Shinto. By the way, this expansive treatment of the concept, in my opinion, more fully reflects its substance than the treatment encountered in some works by Soviet Japan scholars, according to which "kokutay" is treated somewhat more narrowly as "Japanese statehood" or the "state structure of Japan." The attitude of the majority of the people toward the myths as a component of national history was also used in the construction of the dogma of state Shinto.

The section on state Shinto is also interesting on the plane that it permits a deepening of our conception of a number of realities of contemporary Japan. One of the most important links in the struggle of the democratic forces of the country against a strengthening of reactionary and militarist trends in the policies of the ruling circles for many years is speeches against the restoration of the main holiday of pre-war Japan--Kigensetsu--which is based on the Shinto myth on the founding of the Japanese empire by the emperor Jimmu in the 7th century B.C. The rich material on the rituals of state Shinto, which were subordinated to the task of extolling the monarchical regime and the cultivation of unconditional reverence for the emperor and a readiness among the Japanese to die at any moment for the "adored sovereign," permit a better awareness of the political sense of the restoration of Kigensetsu. The same could be said about the problem of temples in Japan, in which soldiers and officers who perished in the wars of aggression unleashed by militarist Japan were worshiped, and which to this day serve as an important center for militarist propaganda.

Other critics may reproach the author for the excessive controversy and political pointedness of the exposition, particularly of those sections in which the discussion concerns state Shinto and attempts to resurrect this religious and political system in one form or another in the present day. It seems, however, that this approach is entirely correct, since the ideology of state Shinto even today remains a weapon in the hands of those who are striving to deprive the Japanese people of the conquests of democracy won in the first postwar years. At the same time, notwithstanding a certain political pointedness of individual sections, the analysis of the religious system of Shinto and its role in the life of Japanese society at various historical stages is objective and balanced overall.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821

CSO: 1807/227

BOOK ON ISSUES OF DISARMAMENT, DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA, AFRICA

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI In Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 215-217

[Review by A.Y. Kireyev of book "Gonka vooruzheniy i problemy razvitiya osvobodivshikhsya stran" (The Arms Race and Problems of Development of Liberated Countries) by B.A. Gornishev. Moscow, Chief Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House, 1985, 200 pp]

[Text] An analysis of the problems of militarization of the economy of developing states as one of the methods used by imperialism to encroach upon their national sovereignty is the theme of this book. Researching these problems in a broad historical and economic context and proceeding from the presence of an ineliminable link between global problems of modern times in general and between problems of preserving peace and overcoming backwardness in former colonies and dependent countries in particular, the author justly proposes that none of the vital issues of modern times across the whole spectrum of them—from overcoming the schism in levels of economic development of various groups of countries to preparing for possible changes in the climate of the planet—can be resolved "without halting the arms race and transferring military budgets to peaceful purposes," insofar as "it is namely the arms race that in today slowing the resolution of many vital problems before the developed and developing countries" (p 5).

The discovery of the dialectical correlation of such mutually negating factors as detente and anti-detente against a background of the struggle of the developing states against all forms of neocolonialism and for the establishment of a new world economic order brings the author to the well-founded conclusion that the climate of detente provides favorable conditions for eliminating sources of international tension, facilitates the development of crisis phenomena in the military and political blocs created by imperialism and furthers growth in trade and economic collaboration among socialist and capitalist countries and a normalization of world economic contacts overall. "Of course, imperialism remains imperialism with its characteristic neocolonialist tendencies. Nonetheless, a retreat from the 'cold war' and the ruin of any doctrine propounding policies of force stimulates resistance to the efforts of imperialist dictate and facilitates the struggle against all forms of neocolonialism" (p 20).

The doctrines of militarism whip up the arms race, and the military sector of capitalist economies is transformed into the politically dominant part of the economy and serves as the material base for militaristic forces. As a result, about 4 trillion dollars have been spent on the arms race in the last decade alone. Funds equal to the gross national product of the developing countries of Africa and Latin America and more than 25 times greater than the official state assistance of the capitalist countries for development purposes are spent for military purposes (p 54).

In researching the methods of drawing the liberated states into the arms race foisted on them by imperialism, the author justly devotes attention to various types of international capitalist military and economic relations. The internationalization of the military-industrial complex (MIC) in the political-economic conception of this form of state-monopoly capitalism is manifested more and more in all types of contacts of each of its principal ingredients--the major military-industrial monopolies, the upper reaches of the military and state-administrative apparatus--beyond national boundaries.

The most apparent and easily detected form of development of the foreign functions of the contemporary MIC are the international capitalist trade in weapons, cooperative military projects, licensing agreements for arms manufacture etc. Arms deliveries of the United States to the developing countries, for example, increased by more than 7 times from 1962 to 1983 in constant dollars (p 63). This is explained first of all by factors of a geopolitical nature: growth in the significance of the liberated countries in the military and political strategy of the United States, the arming of Washington with the concept of "global vital interests" and attempts to take historical and social revenge against socialism.

The development of international features in the activity of the MIC, however, has, as the book shows, fully specific economic preconditions. They include the efforts of capitalism to resolve the problem of cyclical fluctuations in the economy that cannot be resolved within the framework of this system through arms exports and the aspirations of the military-industrial multinational corporations to increase the profitability of military production, guarantee the stability of deliveries of strategic raw and other materials from the developing countries and ensure coverage of the cost of their import through arms exports.

Theoretically justifiable "motives" force the United States to maintain a large quantity of troops outside the boundaries of its national territory, for which a developed system of foreign military economic contacts is essential. Finally, the so-called "strategic defense initiative" (SDI) currently being implemented by Washington requires the inclusion of American allies in NATO and Japan from a technological point of view. As a result, foreign states, including developing ones, are being drawn into the orbit of the earlier primarily national multinational corporations, not only through the sphere of exchange of finished products with a military purpose, but directly through their production, carried out by the military-industrial multinationals as unified international shops.



"In reality," writes N.A. Gnevushev, "suffering from apparent fear of the large-scale application of modern nuclear weapons against territories where the principal body of their active participants are located, the multinationals are nonetheless not only not protesting, but are even inveighing for their production, seeing in this simultaneously a means of 'restraining' world socialism and high-profit business... This militarization has been transformed into an independent means of conducting foreign policy and the state-monopoly regulation of the economy, which is leading to a spread of the arms race to newer and newer capitalist countries" (p 97).

Tearing itself further and further away from national soil, the MIC is trying to foist on humanity a so-called "new world military order" which, notwithstanding a certain outward consonance with the "new international economic order," pursues diametrically opposed aims. The establishment of this order would signify a continuation of the catastrophic growth in non-productive military expenditures, the appearance of new seats of armed conflict and a destabilization of international relations overall.

The author shows convincingly the unfoundedness of bourgeois treatments of military and economic preparations as some sort of "curative" treatment for capitalist economies which supposedly stimulates scientific and technical progress, expands sales markets, increases employment etc. The heavy economic cost inflicted on the developing world as a result of the arms race can be overcome through disarmament. According to the evaluations of UN experts, the shift of just 10 percent of world arms spending to capital investment in the civil sectors of the economy would permit an increase in the volume of fixed capital of one third in the liberated countries (p 129). The conversion of military production to civil would signify a considerable increase in the number of jobs, since employment in non-military sectors per unit of investment is more than twice that of military ones. Such a conversion would free up a considerable number of highly skilled personnel for civil production, of which the developing countries are in acute need. Finally, the demilitarization of science would open up new opportunities for the transfer of progressive technology to the liberated countries and would allow the world community to expand the volume of scientific research and experimental design work carried out at their request.

The ambitions of the internationalized MIC, which is proceeding along the path of transforming into an uncontrollably developing supernational force, naturally have their own objective limits. The inertia of the spinning flywheel of the arms race is opposed by the world influence of real socialism, increasing with each day, and the mighty antiwar movement.

The foreign limitations expressing the correlation of forces in the world arena are supplemented by the immanent disproportions and contradictions characteristic of the capitalist economy itself at the state-monopoly stage. "A reduction in military spending," the author notes, "would facilitate the elimination or substantial reduction of the deficits in the state budgets of many developed countries, which would ultimately slow down inflation, which these deficits regularly feed" (p 173).

While evaluating the book positively overall, it is necessary to note that it, as does any book of an inquiring nature, has positions that could provoke debate. I will dwell on some of these. I feel that it would have been more logical to consider the question of increasing military spending in the developing countries not before, but rather after, the analysis of the international military economic ties of imperialism, i.e. as the immediate result of the arms race foisted on the liberated countries by the West from without through a system of unequal world economic contacts (Ch. 2).

The removal of the section discussing questions of worsening global problems as a result of the arms race to a chapter with the title "Disarmament--A Condition of the Solution of Problems of Socio-Economic Development" is unjustified. It is obvious that a worsening of contemporary global problems is one of the consequences of the militarization of the economy, which would be expediently considered, in my opinion, in one and the same section. And finally, the theory that under conditions of detente "opportunities are created for positive action of the mechanism of the mutual influence of processes on all aspects of international life" (p 21) seems too vague. It would be good to make it more concrete. These observations, moreover, relate more to form than substance. N.A. Gnevushev's book will undoubtedly attract the attention not only of international economists, but of all who are interested in topical problems of contemporary international economic relations.

COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki"  
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1987

12821  
CSO: 1807/227

- END -

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

Aug. 17, 1987

M.J.